





FORTY-THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 17, 1860.

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WASHINGTON:  
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,  
F NEAR SEVENTEENTH STREET.  
1860.



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A N N U A L R E P O R T

O F T H E

A M E R I C A N C O L O N I Z A T I O N S O C I E T Y ,

J A N U A R Y 1 7 , 1 8 6 0 .

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Deceased friends.

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THIS Society, since its last anniversary, has been called to mourn the decease of several distinguished friends, among them the Hon. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania, a gentleman of eminent ability and usefulness, for many years in the public service of his country, and early elected a vice president of this Society ; of Dr. JABEZ G. GOBLE, the late zealous and efficient secretary of the New Jersey Colonization Society ; and of the Rev. JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D., who, animated by the spirit of his venerable Father, the constant and faithful friend and historian of the Society, stood at all times ready to defend and sustain the cause.

The New York Society mentions with grief the death of Mr. JOHN BEVERIDGE, of Newburg, in that State, who makes provision by his will to perpetuate the good work of education in Liberia, for which he had largely contributed during his life ; while the Hon. JOHN BREWSTER, of Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania, whose liberal donation induced this Society to give his name to the Receptacle at Monrovia ; JACOB WAGENER, esq., of Easton, in that State ; and the Rev. M. B. HOPE, D. D., of Princeton, New Jersey, will be lamented by many friends of the cause of this Society, which they so earnestly sought to sustain and advance.

Alas ! that, while we write, the sudden death of a member of the Executive Committee of this Society should be announced. The Hon. ISAAC BLACKFORD, invited a little more than a year ago to occupy a seat in the Executive Committee, after a faithful

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Expeditions.

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discharge of his duties for a brief period, has finished his course. A distinguished member of the legal profession in Indiana, in 1853, he was appointed judge of the United States Court of Claims in this city. He was the first President of the Indiana State Colonization Society; and on the 14th of October, 1829, at the first stated meeting of that society, delivered an able address, clear and comprehensive in its views of the principles and policy of this institution, and in the expression of various grave reasons by which they are enforced.

## EXPEDITIONS.

It was stated in the last report that the Mary Caroline Stevens sailed from Baltimore on the first of the preceding November with fifty-three emigrants, and a tabular statement was given of the places from which these persons came, and of the individuals to whom most of them were indebted for freedom. This ship made Cape Mount on the 19th and Monrovia on the 24th of December.

Most of the emigrants by this expedition went to the interior settlement of Careysburg; while those from Massachusetts preferred to remain at Clay Ashland, on the St. Paul's. As mentioned in the last report, the Rev. John Seys, agent of the United States government for recaptured Africans, took passage in the Stevens; and on his arrival, under date of January 1, 1859, he wrote of the delight with which (after an absence of two years) he viewed the improvements at Robertsport, (Grand Cape Mount;) the animating scene of the national fair at Monrovia, exhibiting the clearest evidences of progress in agricultural industry and the useful arts; also of the satisfaction afforded him by the improved health of the recaptured Africans under the attentions of the agent and the physician of the Society.

In the month of April last, the Agents of the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore for the estate of the late John McDonogh, engaged passage in the ship Rebecca, Captain Carter, bound to the West Coast of Africa, for forty-one slaves, directed by the will of that gentleman to be liberated, and, with ample supplies, these people left New Orleans in that ship on the 27th of that month, and arrived at Monrovia on the 2d of July.

The Stevens having left Monrovia on the 24th of February,



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Expeditions.

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after a very protracted passage, arrived at Baltimore on the 1st of May, and in ten days thereafter was ready to receive her emigrants and other passengers; and on the bright morning of the 12th of that month, in the presence of a large audience, after appropriate addresses and fervent prayer for the blessing of Heaven, her company of ninety-nine colored persons embarked, and she spread her sails for her sixth voyage to Africa, and arrived at Monrovia on the 13th of July.

Three young men of color, educated at the Ashmun Institute, Oxford, Pennsylvania, under care of the Rev. John P. Carter, with their families, went out to engage in the work of Christian missions under direction of the Presbyterian Board of Missions.

On the 24th of May sailed from New York the barque Mendi, chartered by a mercantile house of Monrovia, conveying to Liberia an intelligent company of forty-five emigrants, mostly from that State, and completing her voyage at Monrovia on the 11th of July.

Of the emigrants, fifty-three in number, that sailed from Baltimore November 1, 1858, four were landed at Cape Mount, twenty settled on the St. Paul's river, twenty at Careysburg, and nine at Cape Palmas.

The emigrants by the Rebecca proceeded without delay to Careysburg. Of those by the Mendi, twenty-three chose the same settlement, and twenty-two remained at Monrovia; and of the ninety-nine by the Stevens, five landed at Robertspport, (Grand Cape Mount,) twelve settled on St. Paul's river, five in Careysburg, and the remaining seventy-seven at Greenville, Sinou county.

The Mary Caroline Stevens returned from her sixth voyage on the 8th of October, and on the 2d of November last left Baltimore with sixty-three emigrants; four Liberians returning after a brief visit to the United States; and as cabin passengers, Mrs. Seys, wife of the Rev. John Seys, returning to the country where, with her honored husband, she had passed through the trials of many years of missionary life; Mr. Fitzgerald and family, dedicated to the cause of Baptist missions, with Dr. Knight, of Illinois, intent on visiting the tropics for the benefit of his health.

Of the emigrants by the Stevens on this her seventh voyage,

## Recaptured Africans.

and from whom we have received no intelligence, thirty-two are destined to Careysburg, five to the St. Paul's river, and twenty-six to Sinou.

The following tables show the States from which the emigrants by the expeditions of the last year came, and the individuals to whom many of them are indebted for freedom :

## SIXTH VOYAGE.

State.	Born free.	Slave.	By whom Emancipated.
Pennsylvania. ....	24.....		
Maryland ....	1.....		
Virginia. ....		23..	By will of B. Burgess.
Do. ....		12..	By will of Timothy Rogers.
South Carolina ....		1..	By A. McWilliams.
Do. ....		9..	By Sarah B. Jones.
Georgia ....		12..	By will of F. J. Walker.
Do. ....		7..	By Moses Walker.
Do. ....		5..	By will of Gustave Dugas.
Louisiana. ....		5..	By Mrs. M. E. H. King.
Total....	25..	74..	

## SEVENTH VOYAGE.

State.	Born free.	Slave.	By whom Emancipated.
New York. ....	1.....		
Pennsylvania. ....	11.....		
Maryland. ....	1.....		Set free.
Virginia. ....		15..	By will of Timothy Rogers.
Do. ....		4..	
South Carolina ....	5.....		
Kentucky. ....	1.....		Emancipated by Benjamin Tyler.
Louisiana ....	1.....		Set free.
Illinois. ....	3.....		
Tennessee ....	8.....		By will of John Elihu Stephenson.
Do. ....	13.....		By will of Hugh Cain.
Total....	20..	43..	

## RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

The recaptured Africans, from the hour of their arrival in Liberia, began to improve in health, and, under competent teachers, have acquired some knowledge of the English language and of civilization. They remained in the Receptacle at Monrovia until, in most cases, relieved from the various conditions of weakness and disease to which severe and protracted suffering had reduced them, and then, with the sanction of President Benson and the Agent of the United States, Mr. Seys,

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Health.

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appointed to guard their interests, were distributed among the different settlements of the Republic. Robertsport, Grand Cape Mount, received twenty-five; thirty were placed at Bassa; thirty at Sinou, and twenty-five at Cape Palmas. On the 4th January Mr. Seys embarked with these people for the several places of their destination, and on his return, under date of February 21, wrote "that they were all in good health; that the Society's agent, Mr. Dennis, had sent down ample supplies of provisions, and that he took pleasure in testifying to the promptitude and faithfulness of the agent of the Society in all matters appertaining to these poor exiles from their homes and their friends." "They are," he observes, "well fed and clothed, schools are established for them, and attention paid to their religious training. The Protestant Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas have adopted ten of the children, and the Presbyterian Mission here (Monrovia) have taken eight; in both of which cases they will be most carefully provided for and educated."

The United States commercial agent, Dr. Forney, died at Monrovia on the 9th of February, and Commander McBlair, of the United States ship Dale, appointed Mr. Seys to discharge, temporarily, the duties of that office.

## HEALTH.

Health has prevailed generally during the year, with some exceptions, among the recent emigrants, and diminished for several months in Monrovia and its vicinity by the existence of small-pox, exciting alarming apprehensions, and increasing the usual mortality. This disease prevailed as an epidemic at Sierra Leone, and swept off a large proportion of the European population, among them the excellent English Episcopal bishop for Western Africa. To all emigrants to Africa the experience and testimony of Mr. Seys is deserving of consideration. Under date of August 19, he writes :

"I never enjoyed better health in my life than I have during the last two months and a half. I do not remember at any time during my former residence of years in this country enjoying as long an interval between attacks of African fever as I have recently, and I am very sanguine in the belief that if I continue, with the Divine blessing, to be *temperate in all things*, I shall be enabled to live and work in Africa with as much physical and mental vigor as I would in any part of the United States.

I emphasize "temperate in all things," because it cannot be denied—nay, it ought to be published—that men come here, both of our complexion and of African descent, who practice the opposite, and, despite all advice and counsel from others, act and move, eat and drink, travel in all kinds of weather, and live as if they thought all men mortal but themselves. They die soon, and the African climate bears the blame."

Ex-President Roberts, in a letter of August 25, mentions that most of the emigrants by the Rebecca, Mendi, and Stevens, had gone to Careysburg, and adds:

"I regret to hear that two or three have killed themselves by their own wilfulness and imprudence. Two of them, at least, regardless of the persuasions of those who knew the dangers of such exposures to new comers, would persist, notwithstanding the very inclement weather, in making two or three trips to Monrovia to procure goods to commence building, and thus sacrificed their lives to their temerity."

It is a well ascertained fact that the African fever is much aggravated or allayed by the mental state or disposition of the patient, and that cheerful confidence in God is one of the best of medicines. One or two deaths, not from fever, may cast a shade of despondency over a whole company of emigrants, which, if not dispelled, may increase danger, while rashness, imprudence, and ignorance seal the fate of their victims. It may be proper to add, that the imposing eminences of Cape Mount, and the elevated interior Settlement of Careysburg, still maintain their character for salubrity.

#### AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

Aroused to a sense of the value of these great interests, the people of Liberia have sought to promote them more effectually than ever before during the last year. On the 20th of February, President Benson wrote:

"We are getting on peaceably and quietly; the farming interest is very encouraging. It is supposed that not less than 100,000 pounds of sugar will be made this season in Liberia. There are 40,000 pounds now on hand, and some of the largest planters have only ground a third of their cane."

Again he writes on the 26th of May:

"Our farming interests are very encouraging indeed; our people are working in good earnest. They have exported more of Americo-Liberian products to Europe and America within the last six months than have ever been altogether during the

entire forty years of Liberia's past history. We have peace and quietude. Productive industry is rapidly on the increase."

In allusion to the spirit of industry that animates the Liberians, President Benson, in his letter of August 1, declares that, if it suffer no abatement, it must soon work a gratifying change in the Republic. Liberia, in his view, is, under Providence, growing to a capacity for the reception of a large number of emigrants, which he is confident will, from the free people of color in the United States, be by the same Providence supplied.

The second national fair opened at Monrovia on the 21st of December, and continued to the 28th of that month. A building was erected, in length one hundred feet, and forty feet wide, of native materials, neatly covered with palm thatch; thence called the Palm Palace, in which were exhibited the productions and manufactures of the country. Mr. Seys wrote:

"I was surprised beyond all anticipation; I could scarcely realize where I was; every department gratified me. The specimens of sugar-cane cannot be excelled in the West Indies, save in the island of Trinidad; in socks made of the cotton from the great silk cotton tree of the tropics; gun powder made by a native Liberian; in beautiful and admirable furniture from the superior woods of the African forests were seen the triumphs of Liberian ingenuity. But I can only mention without comment the tools manufactured here from excellent iron ore; the cotton, coffee, cocoa, ginger, corn meal, arrow-root, yams, eddoes, &c., &c.; all giving evidence of the vast fertility of the soil, of the rapid improvement of the people of Liberia, and of the consoling fact that those who labor for their advancement in the arts, sciences, or any other good thing, do not labor in vain."

The committee appointed to adjudicate between the competitors for premiums at this fair reported to the President "that ten varieties of cotton were exhibited, among them that of the large silk cotton tree, growing to the height of eighty to one hundred feet; that the indigenous cotton bears for seven or eight years, and that from it thousands of cloths are made by the natives of the interior, and that the raw material may be hereafter profitably exported; that fine specimens of sugar from the banks of the St. Paul's testified to the rapid increase of its cultivation; that the two steam sugar mills had found ten times more employment the last than during the previous year; that coffee was well represented, and was of good promise



in all the counties of the Republic, and that it will soon be largely exported; that rice and cassada were abundant; that there were good specimens of arrow-root, ginger, cocoa, eddoes, yams, beans, peas, corn, and corn meal, with a profusion of plantains, bananas, oranges, plums, cocoa nuts, with chocolate of the purest quality, and that beautiful articles of furniture, articles of clothing, and of female attire, skilfully embroidered and elegantly wrought, with preserved fruits, cordials, and other confectionery were among the contributions to this national fair." The committee conclude "that a new era has dawned upon our Republic, and that the finger of Providence points to a higher, happier, and brighter destiny."

Several friends of Liberia in this country have offered premiums to encourage the cultivation of coffee and the sugar-cane; while the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, England, have appropriated £25 per annum for five successive years to promote the growth of cotton in that Republic. "The interest," says a writer, under date of Monrovia, October 14, "is far greater than is known to be the case in the United States."

The commerce of Liberia is increasing each successive year. During the one just past four Liberian vessels have entered our ports; one bringing a cargo of 28,000 gallons of palm oil, 35 tons of camwood, 800 pounds of ivory, with sugar, syrup, and gold dust. A correspondent of the Boston Journal, who arrived at Monrovia on the 1st of August, on the 14th October wrote: "Fifty thousand dollars worth of English goods have been sold here since I arrived, \$35,000 worth of German goods, \$19,000 worth of American goods, and the market is not one-half supplied." American vessels in the ports of Liberia are on an equality with those of the most favored nations; while vessels from Liberia in our harbors, from defect of a treaty, have not been recognized as entitled to the same advantage. This fact tends inevitably to divert the Liberian trade from us to other countries.

#### RELATIONS OF LIBERIA TO FOREIGN NATIONS.

Liberia maintains friendly relations with foreign nations, and has won from them respect and confidence. Her complete vindication from reproach in the affair of the *Regina Cæli*



was announced in our last report; and it was suggested that this event, in its first aspect so dark, might, through the ordering of Providence, extend the influence and confer honor upon the name of that Republic. This prediction has been fully verified. On the 9th of December, 1858, President Benson clearly exposed, in his message to the legislature, the evils of the French emigration system, and on the 6th of February, 1859, submitted to that body documents from the Department of State, embodying a history of the acts and correspondence of the Liberian government on the subject of the *Regina Cœli*, and the solemn protest made by that government to the Emperor of France against the conduct of the French naval and military officers on that coast. It required no history of that system, by which so much suffering had been inflicted, to induce the passage, by the legislature, on the 24th of January, 1859, of a law prohibiting the entry of any vessel to any port of the Republic for the purpose of enlisting or procuring any native African emigrants with intent to transport them to any foreign country, and denouncing against any violation of that law the punishment decreed against the slave trade.

The determination of the Liberians to endure all things, and even perish, rather than concede the least to the invaders of the homes and rights of the aborigines on their soil, and the solemn protest sent by their President to France, have exerted, we must presume, some influence on the mind of the Emperor. Soon after the tragical affair of the *Regina Cœli*, he appointed a commissioner to report whether the emigration system involved the slave trade in disguise, and soon after abolished the system on the east coast of Africa. The British government expressed the hope that it would soon be abolished on the western coast.

In November of last year the French ship *Phoenix*, Captain Chevalier, appeared at Sugary to procure emigrants, but he professed to be ignorant that he was within Liberian jurisdiction. The British steam sloop *Alectro* conveyed the Hon. F. Payne, attorney general of Liberia, to the *Phoenix*. A number of emigrants were found on board, and among them a native youth who had been brought up in one of the families of the Republic. He had been seized and sold to Captain Simon of the *Regina Cœli*, from whom he escaped, but, recaptured by a native chief,

had been sold again to the master of the *Phoenix*, who by his signature to a receipt for the money demanded for his release, stating that it was the amount he had paid to the chief, certified to his own guilt. Payne obtained the release of this young man, but had not the force, nor had the captain of the *Alecto* the authority, to capture the *Phoenix*. Her captain became alarmed, left his station immediately, and was not heard from, for several months. A brief and accurate statement of the successive events in the operations of the French to obtain emigrants from Liberia, and of the measures adopted by her government to defeat them, is found in the last report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, which, in conclusion, says: "Chevalier's statement that he was instructed to avoid trespassing on Liberia's jurisdiction, was probably true; and if so, we may hope that the difficulty with France is at an end, except the settlement for past outrages. Probably Chevalier is allowed to operate on other parts of the coast long enough to complete some existing contract, and then the whole thing will be abandoned, and then the whole continent of Africa will have been saved from this virtual slave trade by the firm and enlightened statesmanship of the Republic of Liberia."

The President of Liberia has expressed his gratitude for the gift, to the government of that Republic, of the armed schooner *Quail* from the English government—a fine vessel of one hundred and twenty-three tons, thirteen tons larger than the *Lark*, presented some years ago by her Britannic Majesty. The *Quail* carries one long 18-pounder on pivot, and four brass 3-pounders, and is fitted up in the best manner. Gerard Ralston, esq., consul general of Liberia in London, and T. W. Fox, esq., consul at Plymouth, did much, and all in their power, to secure this renewed expression of kindness and confidence to Liberia by England.

The *Liberia Herald* of the 22d of September notices the public reception given at the Presidential mansion on the 13th of that month to Mr. Roberts, as Belgian consul. At the banquet, prepared for the occasion, his excellency expressed his high sense of the honor conferred by his Belgian Majesty on the government and people of Liberia by the appointment, as representative to this government, of their distinguished Liberian citizen, and the pleasure it afforded to receive him. The

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Native African Population.

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King of Belgium has just completed a treaty with Liberia, and the appointment of Ex-President Roberts to this consular office is regarded as evidence that his Majesty entertains the most generous sentiments towards the government and people of Liberia.

## NATIVE AFRICAN POPULATION.

To the friends of Africa, no provision of the constitution of Liberia has appeared more just, benevolent, and patriotic than the 15th section of the 5th article, in which the improvement of the native tribes is declared to be a cherished object of the government; and that it shall be the duty of the President, as the public revenue shall permit, to encourage and instruct these people in agriculture, the useful arts, habits, and employments of civilization. To this subject the attention of the legislature was called by President Benson in his last message. To his regret, the means at his disposal had not enabled him effectually to carry out this humane provision of the constitution, while many chiefs had declared their purpose to comply with any measures proposed by the government for their good. He thought no insurmountable difficulties were in the way of assimilating, in due time, the manners and customs of these people to those of civilized life; that a process of this kind was going on each successive year, which no one acquainted with the matter could, for a moment, doubt. He speaks highly of the intelligence of the native Africans as compared with that of many emigrants from the United States; and urges that the system of education for these aborigines, and all other inhabitants, should be the same, and that no policy should be entertained tending to depress the former, and continue them permanently in an inferior condition. A very intelligent colored missionary, a citizen of Liberia for some twenty years, observes that, "for building up an independent, industrious, civilized and Christian people, we look not alone to emigrants, but to our untutored heathens of these wild forests. The light of the gospel shining in their midst enables them to see that Christianity places them in superior conditions. This any of them will freely admit. Then there are hundreds who are slowly approaching the light; thousands seeking the protection of the government, and settling near our towns and villages. Then

the eagerness with which they seek instruction and imbibe civilized principles, are among the evidences of their ability and aptitude."

On a visit to the leeward in July last, President Benson called at many native towns—Bassa, New Sesters, Trade Town, Grand Bootoo, Nanna Kroo, Fish Town, Middletown, Rock Town, Cape Palmas, Grahway, Half Cavalla, Grand Taboo, Little and Grand Bereby, and everywhere met with a cordial reception. The chiefs expressed great regard for his excellency and the government, and promised to conduct themselves as obedient, peaceable citizens.—Near Cape Palmas they turned out with their troops, respectively, several hundreds of them, fully armed and equipped, and escorted the President, amidst volleys of musketry and the roar of cannon, to their towns, where sumptuous entertainments were prepared, and nothing spared which might be regarded as a mark of respect and fidelity. When the President expressed his gratification, explained to them their relations to the Republic, their duty to obey the laws, and guard them from violation; when he assured them that Liberia was a common country for them and the emigrants from America; that all should co-operate together for the general good, and to build up a prosperous nation, they cheerfully and earnestly avowed their attachment to the constitution, government, and laws of Liberia, with a full understanding of their obligations.

An act has been passed by the legislature of Liberia to maintain peace and enforce order on the highways of the interior near the Republic, which authorizes the President to employ all necessary force for protecting caravans, Liberian or native, engaged in lawful and peaceful trade. Two or more Liberians may, by his permission, reside among the natives beyond the limits of the Republic, and receive protection in honest business. Under this law, (which is believed to meet the approbation of the principal native chiefs,) says the report of the Massachusetts Society, "civilization and Christianity, and all their attendant blessings, may penetrate the interior as fast and as far as suitable men can be found, either in Liberia or the United States, to carry them."

## THE ROAD TO CAREYSEBURG.

The construction of a road from St. Paul's river to Careyburg has been deemed a matter of urgent necessity, since the difficulties of transporting immigrants with supplies, especially in the rains, are great and expensive. The loss to the Society during the last eight months has been \$614 01. A survey of the route, at considerable expense, was made more than a year ago. The Committee appropriated \$1,000 to this object, and the government of Liberia an equal sum; and while the work is under the control of that government, the agent of the Society is directed to co-operate and do all in his power to secure its completion without delay.

## INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS.

To multiply settlements in the interior as rapidly as it can be safely done, has long been regarded as the true policy of this Society. To establish such a settlement on the elevated tract east of Grand Bassa, purchased by the friends of the cause in New Jersey, is a cherished object of the committee. They have communicated their views to President Benson, and sought to learn what aid and co-operation would be afforded to the enterprise by the Liberian government, and they trust another year will see the work accomplished. The want of an adequate number of suitable emigrants, alone, has thus far caused delay.

## COAL.

The discovery of COAL in several districts of Liberia is mentioned in recent communications, as one which may result in great benefit, not only to the Republic itself, but especially to the steam vessels connected with the squadrons on the African coast, and others regularly visiting it for purposes of commerce. The discovery of marble and limestone is also announced.

## EXPLORATIONS.

The interior country east of Liberia has been explored by several Liberians, especially by that zealous missionary, the Rev. George L. Seymour, (with two companions,) and by James L. Sims. Mr. Seymour, encouraged by the government and people of Liberia, left his mission station in the Pessa country



and penetrated into the interior, according to his own estimate, to the distance of 370 miles, finding a region varied, beautiful, well watered, and fertile, with many towns exhibiting industry, cleanliness, economy, and mechanical ingenuity surpassing any he had seen among the natives of the coast. From one point he counted ninety-three farms under good cultivation. We have not seen, he says, a barren piece of ground for 230 miles. A chief 175 miles from Monrovia had sent the whole distance to that place to obtain a missionary. From a mountain near Zanga, 1,200 feet high, named by Mr. Seymour Mount Roberts, seven towns were visible, and one hundred and eighty-two farms. The city of Solong is on elevated ground, and has high walls, four gates, and is an excellent station for a mission.

Here were ten looms. Among manufactures in some of the towns he found earthenware and iron smelted from the ore. But a small part of the land is under cultivation.

The Massachusetts Society say, in their report, "it is doubtless the most inviting field for emigrants from the United States on the continent of Africa." Mr. Sims confirms Mr. Seymour's statements. He found at Seewauta, a town in the Barlain country, five looms for weaving cloth; the blacksmith displayed much art in working iron and copper, and the women produced earthenware beautifully ornamented.

One town (Pallaka) is stated to have 4,000 inhabitants, the people to be most industrious and happy, and the country one immense rice farm.

The discoveries of Messrs. Burton and Speke and Dr. Livingstone in Eastern Africa (remote from Liberia) have brought to light districts hitherto unknown, abundant in natural resources, and promising to yield rich contributions to the commerce of the world.

The mean level of a wide region of country passed over between the sea coast and Lake Victoria, Nyanza, (some 400 miles distant,) is 3,767 feet; of the lake itself, 3,750 feet; the flats and hollows are well peopled, and cattle and cultivation are everywhere abundant. Springs are numerous. South of the lake are vast fields of iron; cotton abounds, and every tropical plant would grow.

Dr. Livingstone has ascended the Shire, a branch of the Zambezi, fully a hundred miles, through a beautiful valley



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Emigration—Education.

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about twenty miles wide, and fringed with mountains of great beauty, well wooded to their tops. The people were very hospitable and independent, having plenty of sweet potatoes and other vegetables. The hills were well cultivated high up; the cotton plant is met with everywhere, and in this valley were vast herds of elephants, eight hundred being the number estimated as seen at one time. These people had never before seen Europeans.

## EMIGRATION.

Emigration of free colored persons has, from several causes, been retarded; but in the northern and middle States, during the last year, their thoughts have been directed to Africa, and they have sought knowledge of its advantages for their future home. In the south, this class, in consequence of agitations on the slavery question, are exposed to new trials; in some cases compelled to leave the places of their residence, and we trust Divine Providence will direct their way to Liberia, where alone, at present, their highest interests can most certainly be secured and perpetuated. And surely common humanity (to say nothing of the spirit of the religion of Christ) demands, while these people are expelled from some districts of the south to seek in vain for comfortable homes at the north, that their friends should encourage and assist them to take possession of the great inheritance prepared for them by Providence in the land of their fathers.

## EDUCATION.

The desire of education is becoming stronger among the youth of Liberia, and the schools are rising every year in reputation and importance. The Vey people, and other neighboring tribes, earnestly solicit from the government the establishment of civilized settlements among them. The instruction of the children of the Veyes would have the happiest effect, and the establishment of schools would open the way for all the blessings of Christianity. The examination at the Alexander High School, in Monrovia, on the 29th of June, was attended by the President and other officers of the government, and was conducted by a young Liberian (who had been instructed by Messrs. Wilson and Williams, excellent missionaries of the Presbyterian Board,) in a manner deserving of high praise.

Many of the pupils acquitted themselves well in the Latin and Greek classics, and in geography and the mathematics. This examination showed conclusively that the means of educating their youth are now in possession of the Liberians.

#### LIBERIA COLLEGE.

It is to be regretted that the progress in the erection of this institution has continued for some time arrested in consequence of legal controversies which have arisen concerning the site it should occupy. The difficulties in the way of this college, which promises such great benefits to Liberia, will, it is hoped, be soon removed.

#### MISSIONS.

The great cause of Christian missions advances in Liberia with increasing strength and success. It has been especially prospered of God during the last year. While the government of Liberia has at all times proved (under God) to the missionaries a defence, they have contributed morally to sustain its authority, to educate the youth, and enlighten the citizens under its control. United by one spirit, the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches are there represented by pious and faithful men; in their schools many native Africans have been trained to become teachers and preachers of the gospel; the spirit of holiness and power has descended upon their ministry, and great multitudes within and without the Republic have been gathered into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Nor should we omit to mention the publication by the Smithsonian Institution during the last year of the able and learned work of the Rev. T. J. Bowen on the language of the people of Yoruba, near the Niger. Among these people the author resided as a missionary of the Southern Baptist Church for several years, and he has given increased value to the present work by the very clear, able, historical notice of the character, customs, and religious ideas of these people, with which it is introduced.

The report of the Rev. John Orcutt, Travelling Secretary of the Society, gives an encouraging account of his successful labors during the year in New England, and of the prospects of increased success in future years. The inestimable bles-

sings already conferred upon Africa through Liberia must commend this Society to the earnest missionary spirit of New England.

#### AGENCIES.

The Rev. E. G. Nicholson has continued his labors in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois during the year; also visited Missouri. The Rev. B. O. Plympton has occupied a portion of Ohio. The Rev. J. N. Danforth, D. D., has been engaged in Delaware and this District. While the Rev. Francis Butler was appointed early in the year to the States of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and has been much encouraged in his work. A State society is organized in New Hampshire under favorable auspices.

#### NEW YORK STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

It will be recollected that the New York State Colonization Society, through resolutions presented to the Directors at our last anniversary, expressed a conviction that a small steamer to enter the rivers, and for running as a packet along the coast of Liberia, was much needed, and should be built. A letter from the Secretary of that Society states: "After full discussion, our society resolved to have one built, and I am happy to report that it is now completed, and ready to be sent out as soon as suitable arrangements can be made for having it made useful and placed in careful and competent hands. As the society could not, unaided, have undertaken so expensive a work but for the anticipation of receiving a large sum from the executors of the late Seth Grosvenor, esq., of this city, and as that legacy of \$10,000 has been received, the steamer was named after him—'The Seth Grosvenor.'"

"To carry the mail regularly, and meeting the line of British steamers at Cape Palmas; to give rapid and certain intercourse from settlement to settlement on the coast; to distribute merchandise and gather produce to the chief markets, it will be of the very first importance; and even more valuable, may we hope it will be, as affording the government an instrument to enforce its revenue laws and its laws to preserve peace among the native seacoast tribes, by prohibiting the slave trade.

We owe it to the small republic, upon which circumstances so early devolved the burden of governing thirty times their own civilized people, along a coast of nearly six hundred miles, but recently the haunt of slave traders, that, so far as practicable,

they shall have facilities and co-operation in their difficult position.

There having been left a legacy of \$50,000 by the former president of the New York State Colonization Society, Anson G. Phelps, sen., for a Liberian college, conditional upon securing \$100,000 for that purpose, with a view to carry into execution his generous purpose, the society and managers in New York have constantly endeavored to aid in obtaining the sum required to secure his noble gift.

This season has been marked by the receipt of a liberal donation from an aged couple, who, by economy and industry as plain farmers, had laid aside, as the Lord had prospered them, and devoted to His service quite a large sum, \$25,000 of which has been paid over to our treasurer, which will go far to assure the completion of the required sum and confirm the bequest.

This will be doubly gratifying, inasmuch as it at the same time carries into execution the purpose of the venerable donor, and also secures for Africa the highest boon to be given her—a noble literary and religious institution.

The income of our Society for the year 1859 exceeds that of any previous year.

Ordinary donations,	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,957 00
Church collections,	-	-	-	-	-	2,135 32
Legacies,	-	-	-	-	-	10,271 65
Reported by agents,	-	-	-	-	-	2,118 75
Special donations,	-	-	-	-	-	1,227 94
Endowment of professorship in college,	-	-	-	-	-	25,000 00
Income from education funds	-	-	-	-	-	2,150 00
Payment for Colonization Journal	-	-	-	-	-	204 35
Making a total of	-	-	-	-	-	<u>47,065 06</u>

I observe that \$102 in donations, \$966 42 in legacies, have been acknowledged from this State in the African Repository, from which publication, also, \$13 are acknowledged; and if these are added to the total paid to our treasurer, the State of New York appears to have devoted, in 1859, to our cause, \$48,144 48.

With the income from our education fund this Society has supported five youths in the Episcopal Mission School at Cape Palmas, under care of Bishop Payne; six in the Alexander High School at Monrovia; one young Liberian in a course of law at Worcester, Massachusetts; and another in acquiring a knowledge of dentistry in this city.

By the liberality of one of the officers of our Society, another

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Finances—Conclusion.

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young man is now supported at the Ashmun Institute in a course of studies preparatory to the Christian ministry.

More than three thousand volumes of school books, and of other works fitted for the college library, have been donated and forwarded to Liberia by the members of our Society during the year.

Our Society has felt the pressure of the monetary difficulties of the country considerably; but on a review of the year we find much to be grateful for to Him who is the 'Author of all right desires and benign works.'"

## FINANCES.

The statement of the Financial Secretary will show, in detail, the receipts and expenditures and general financial condition of the Society. We may remark, that of the \$32,500 received from the government, agreeably to contract, for the support of the recaptured Africans sent out in the Niagara, more than \$25,000 had been, by last advices, expended. From the McDonogh legacy has been received during the year \$82,564 18, and from other sources; making our entire receipts \$160,906 15; while the expenditures have been \$84,232 34.

## CONCLUSION.

This Society had its origin in benevolence to the African race. Limited in its action by its constitution to free persons of color, its moral influence and results are for the good of men of color throughout the world. It was intended, and is constitutionally authorized, to act in co-operation with the general government, and with such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject. It interferes with no freedom of human agency, invades no rights, impairs no authority, and disturbs no relations. The great men who founded it believed in the unity of the human race, in the capacity of all men for improvement, and in their obligations of mutual benevolence to each other. They saw embodied in the successful establishment of a Christian State of free men of color on the African coast elements of ever growing power and beneficence—an object sublime enough to attract the attention and gather strength from the resources of the States and the nation. If such views were just then, are they less so now? Has the cause lost anything of its dignity, magnitude, or promise? Appeals it not with new force of reason each successive year to the people of the United States? How well, how wisely, then, may this Society and the whole nation adhere to the sagacious and comprehensive policy of a WASHINGTON and HARPER, a CARROLL and MARSHALL, a MADISON and CLAY.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

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THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY was held on the evening of Tuesday, the 17th of January, 1860. The President of the Society, the Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, took the chair. The meeting was very large. Prayer was offered by the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of New Jersey. Parts of the Annual Report of the Society were read by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Corresponding Secretary. Addresses were made by the Hon. N. G. Taylor, of Tennessee; the Rev. J. C. Stiles, D. D.; and the Rev. J. B. Pinney, LL. D., Secretary of the New York State Colonization Society. The benediction was then pronounced by Dr. Maclean, and the Society adjourned to meet to-morrow at 12 o'clock in the office of the Society.

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WEDNESDAY, *January 18, 1860.*

The Society met according to adjournment. The Rev. Dr. J. Maclean was called to the chair.

The minutes of last year were read by the Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of Rev. Joseph Tracy, it was—

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be given to the Hon. Mr. Taylor, Rev. Dr. Stiles, and Rev. Dr. Pinney, for their addresses before this Society last evening, and that they be requested to furnish copies for the press.

On motion of Dr. Smith, of New Jersey, a committee was appointed to nominate the officers of the Society for the present year. The committee appointed were Messrs. Smith, Pinney, and Tracy. The committee nominated the list of last year, with the addition of W. W. Seaton, esq., of Washington, D. C., and Joseph Fulton, esq., of Vienna, New York.

Adjourned.



## ADDRESSES AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

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The Hon. N. G. TAYLOR, of Tennessee, said :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Invited, as I have been, a day or two since, to address you this evening in behalf of the American Colonization Society, I regret that it is not in my power to give a studied and well-prepared speech. I can only offer you such fugitive thoughts and reflections as may be suggested by the contemplation of the great subject which we have assembled to consider.

Sir, it is a great subject, because it involves the interests of those who have been kindly taken by this humane Society and borne to the shores where their forefathers lived, not only because it touches the interests of thousands of the same class yet remaining among us here in our own country, but because it also looks to the highest interests of millions and multiplied millions of immortal human beings in the benighted regions of Africa; because it contemplates the building up, out of elements in our own midst, in harmony with our social system, a great Christian nation upon a distant shore; and because its heaven-inspired benevolence, through the instrumentality of that nation, expects to give to commerce a continent of boundless wealth, to civilization a whole quarter of the globe, and to Christianity one-tenth of the population of this earth. The fact, referred to in the Report, that the scheme of this Society had its inception in the minds of some of our greatest statesmen, (those of a Washington, Carroll, Madison, Marshall, and Clay,) establishes the fact that it is worthy of the consideration of this nation.

Sir, we have in these United States a large class of people whose social condition amongst us requires that the benevolence of the country should provide for their future welfare. We know that in the southern and in the northern States are thousands of colored persons who, from various considerations, have been emancipated, but at the same time their condition is inferior, and, of necessity, more or less degraded. We know, also, that this class operates upon the population by which it is surrounded deteriorously, in the opinion of many persons who have carefully investigated the subject. We know, further, that measures have been taken recently in some of the southern States to expel thousands of these people from the borders of the States in which they have resided. Other States contemplate action in the premises. Circumstances have recently occurred, which it is unnecessary for me specifically to mention to this audience, that conspire to make it necessary that a home should be furnished for this class of our fellow-beings. Where are the free negroes of this country to find a home? where? The people of the slave States believe that they cannot stay there:

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Address of Hon. N. G. Taylor.

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but legislative action has been, is, and will be taken to expel them from those States. The legislatures of the free States, looking to the interests of their citizens, have already thrown a barrier around their borders, in some instances—in many instances, I believe, sir—to prevent the ingress of this class of population from other States. If you look to the far west, thitherward rolls the tide of emigration of the white race, and the time is not far distant when there will be left no foot of land uncultivated by the white man within the boundaries of the United States—nay, sir, not a spot upon the whole American continent not inhabited by the white race.—(Applause.) Where, then, sir, is the free negro to find a home? He cannot stay where he is; he is excluded from other parts of the United States; he can find no enduring home in the west; and I ask, then, where is he to find a home? The great God, sir, that made us all has indicated, in his wisdom, a place for his home. God Almighty, in his Providence, has opened up the way to the manumitted slave and the freed man of the negro race upon this continent to their great inheritance in another, where they can find a resting place and a home, and where they can become instruments in the Divine hand for the civilization, education, and salvation of their benighted race.

I know, sir, it is said that the colonization scheme is a failure; that it has been published abroad throughout the country, that it has failed to effect the objects for which it was designed. But with all due deference to the opinions of others, I beg leave to say that, to me, the present indications are that, instead of this great cause dying out, it is being revived again; that the period of its most successful operation—the period when its benevolence will become most general and efficient for the benefit of that unhappy portion of our population to which it is directed is just beginning to dawn—is now upon us. The eye of an omniscient Providence has looked over that race and watched it as well as our own. And Mr. President, there was a period, not many years ago, when the Christian philanthropist, as he surveyed the coast of Africa, and the millions sitting there in moral darkness and death, and saw that effort after effort had been made to send missionaries of our complexion to that country, who had been quickly carried off by the malaria of those shores, felt his heart sink within him while apprehending that the day of Africa's redemption was indeed distant. But God provided the way and the means, of His own appointment, for the accomplishment of great ends; and placed in the brains of benevolent men, as well as in their hearts, the idea of establishing upon the coast of Africa itself, a nucleus around which could be gathered those elements that would go out in their influence and operate upon the great masses of human beings that are found in that country. The Colonization Society was instituted, and, like other great enterprises, has had its difficulties. That in its rise and progress and development it should have had difficulties is not at all surprising; the wonder is that it has so effectually surmounted them. This fact is established by the report of your Secretary to night.

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Address of Hon. N. G. Taylor.

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What does he tell us? That there is already planted on the shores of Africa a nation. Sir, forty years ago that coast was disgraced by piracy, blood, and the inhuman slave traffic. Many victims of war were then bought and sold there, and the bones of multitudes slain in battle attested the horrors of that cruel trade. How is it now? For six hundred miles along the coast extends the border of a free State; penetrating into the interior for forty or fifty miles. You look upon the map of Africa, and see at one point the British colony of Sierra Leone, with its multiplied agencies of civilization, and the Republic of Liberia, with a Liberian population of more than ten thousand, and that of at least from one to two hundred thousand native Africans under its free Christian government, imparting to all the inspiring motives and the immortal hopes of freedom and Christianity. Where forty years ago the smoking blood of the murdered victims of war desolating the country rose towards heaven, invoking the wrath of the God of purity and holiness, the church spire glistens in the morning sun; and where were heard the sigh and groans of the shackled and dying negro in his wild haunts, the voice of prayer and the songs of praise ascend to the God of nations on the morning and the evening air.—(Great applause.)

That is the place of refuge for the negro of this country. Nowhere in this country is he in social equality with the white man; nor can he be. The God of nature has made the distinction which we cannot obliterate if we would. Transplant him to his native soil; let him set his foot on his own Liberia; he is Lord of the ascendant. Then he meets with his equals, and feels a true manhood beat in every pulse and roll in every vein. There is a home for the negro.

But let me say a few words of the present and prospective results of this colonization movement. It will remove from us and plant in their proper home the manumitted negroes of the present and future. I say it *will*; perhaps, with more propriety, I should say it ought to do it. I hope it will, and certainly it will to a greater or less extent. The end is not yet. Nor is this the only object we should have in view, nor the only result that will be produced. The negro is planted where the white man too frequently dies; and, in the language of another, "while Africa sends to America a savage and a slave, this Society gives to Africa a freeman and a Christian." He is planted near the wild aborigines of that country. There they are. He tills the soil; he educates his children; and an influence goes out from him to those around him; and though it may seem small, like a bubble on the bosom of the mighty ocean, a wave will go out from that point on the coast that will extend to the farthest limit of the land; an influence that will live and act until the last of Africa's children shall feel its regenerating power. The African can act upon the African more successfully than can the foreigner. The negro educated either in Liberia or in this country goes back with Christian light and life in his soul, and messages of Divine love upon his lips, to those beyond him, and thus the tendency of the whole work is to enlighten and christianize the millions of Africa.

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Address of Hon. N. G. Taylor.

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How vastly, from these influences, must the condition of the native African be ameliorated in his own country during the next century. It is not too much to hope that within the lifetime of some now on earth it will be said of Africa as now of our own happy country—she is in the midst of the blaze of gospel light; and this will be effected, in a great degree, through the means and agencies of colonization.

But with civilization come its wants: and in proportion as you enlarge the circle of civilized men in Africa, in the same proportion do you enlarge the commercial interests that centre around and go out from that circle. So that our country ought to look at this matter in a commercial point of view; to study its commercial interests, and watch its opportunities to advance them.

For sir, the day is not far distant when, instead of scores of tons, there will be hundreds and thousands of tons floating from the shores of Africa to every country upon the face of the habitable globe. Your report tells us that the agriculture of Liberia is already in a flourishing condition and that manufactures, to some extent, are springing up in the country. But it is said, sir, that poverty and wretchedness are found existing in some parts of Liberia. Have new settlements, and in new countries, been found without them? Grant that these evils exist; is it strange when you consider the original poverty of our emigrants, the dangers incident to an untried climate, and the wars in which they have been at times engaged, destroying some of their villages, and forcing them for a season from their homes; is it strange, I say, that such evils have been experienced by the Liberians? Yet Liberia stands to-day a government exercising a beneficent influence upon the neighboring countries.

But, sir, the argument from such a fact is shown to be without force by the history of the world. Suppose, you, that our fathers who attempted the settlement of Jamestown, after struggling with misfortune, want, and privation, had been pointed to as having failed; suppose that every heart interested in that matter had caught the alarm, and all had given up the enterprise; why, sir, Virginia might to-day have been in the hands of the savage, and this country remained a wilderness.

But the recuperative power of the Anglo-Saxon race survived all these difficulties, and, under the Divine hand, brought our country from small beginnings, until she spread out her arms of power—until, to use a familiar phrase, her sails whiten every sea; until our country, like a mighty giant, stands with one foot upon the Atlantic and the other upon the Pacific shore; while the stars and stripes of our glorious confederacy float on every breeze.

Carthage, you recollect, sir—that great city of northern Africa—had but a feeble infancy: years, centuries intervened between her littleness and her greatness; but history reveals her progress until she was able to cope with the mightiest of the world in the very heart of Italy. Thus has it been with almost every great enterprise or great nation on the face of the earth. Their beginnings have been like those of our great western rivers—among the dew-

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Address of Hon. N. G. Taylor.

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drops in the grass spires of the mountain side; then the streamlets and creeks forming the rushing river—swelling, at last, to the mighty father of waters, bearing the commerce of a nation on its bosom, and covering the great seas themselves.

I hold that the prospects around this enterprise are brighter than they have ever been, and that it is the duty of all who love their race to sustain it by prayer, sympathy, and material aid; and whatever this country shall do for it, it will never be the loser; never! never! Liberia, a nation, will stand as a monument—no, the benefit—of the American people; a nation small in its beginnings, but great in its results. And I venture to say, Mr. President, that if the people of the United States will take this enterprise where they find it, bear it forward, give to it material aid and support, for every dollar expended in this work of benevolence, Africa will return multiplied millions through the channels of commerce into the lap of America. But, sir, infinitely over all, is the preservation of the great mass of souls, (for every African of her hundreds of millions has a soul,) emanations of that God we worship, above all these sordid considerations. Look upon Africa! Providence never blest a country with a richer soil and resources, with more abundant elements of greatness, than those conferred on Africa. But amid her sublime and glorious scenery man is a savage, in some places a cannibal; and what is the mission of our Christian Philanthropy, but to go forth and scatter the seeds of Eternal Truth, what but to go forth from our light, with that Bread of Life that came down from Heaven, in our hands, even if it be but to cast it upon the turbid waters that it may finally be gathered into the garner of the Christian homes of Liberia.

It is clearly a part of the mission of every Christian man, wherever he lives, to communicate the knowledge of Christ to the ignorant and degraded nations of mankind. It is a high, a glorious mission. Our blessed Saviour died for Africa, as well as America; and for the recovery of her millions from ruin we have the men, the acquirements, the opportunity; we have in the American Colonization Society the instrumentalities to reach their case, in the negroes, the liberated slaves, if you please, of this country. Yes, sir, many slaves in the mountains and valleys of remote States, away down by the cotton fields in the South, in their cabins and quarters have heard the Word of the Gospel, have looked upon the Cross of the Son of God, and been changed by his love and spirit, and now made free, they are sent forth with the leaven of Divine Truth and Grace to the land of their fathers, they spread abroad the good influence among the dark tribes who have never heard of the Gospel, or of that Sun of Righteousness which is to be the light of the world. Thus, through these poor liberated slaves, the children of Africa are brought to Him who takes away their sins; and thus God places the whole continent of Africa in our hands, and it becomes us to see that it shall be redeemed and brought back to God. Sir, that Republic of Liberia shines like a bright star of promise on the ebon brow of Africa. There she stands, for the good of the African race, and for the advancement of the cause of the Redeemer of the World.



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Address of the Rev. Mr. Stiles.

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After a few introductory remarks, the Rev. Dr. STILES said :

George Whitfield was the father of African Colonization. I do not mean to say that he was the founder of this Society ; nor that he lived at the time of its formation ; nor even that the conception of such an institution ever entered his mind. But this fact is indisputable. The great embryo thought of this whole subject, which, in the hand of men of a subsequent generation, was made to develop the body, soul, spirit and history of the American Colonization Society, lay in the mind of that great and good man so clearly, purely, and piously, that it found its way to distinct record upon the page of American history.

Time was when the Savannah river was the extreme southern boundary of slavery in the United States. General Oglethorpe, founder of the Colony of Georgia, was the stoutest sort of an Abolitionist, and used his utmost efforts to prevent slavery from crossing the river and entering his province. But Carolina and *time* were too much for him. The Carolinians hired their slaves over the line, for five, twenty, fifty, a hundred years, and slavery thus became to all intents and purposes, thoroughly radicated on the southern side of the Savannah river.

At this period in the history of Georgia, George Whitfield appeared in the presence of General Oglethorpe, and thus addressed him : " Governor, surrender ! You are a vanquished man. Slavery cannot now be dislodged. Moreover, Governor, in my opinion, the African is better off as a slave, than he could be either as a savage in his own country, or a free man in this. And let me further say, I do solemnly believe that He who commanded His Church to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, in view of the melancholy lack of missionary spirit in our day, has actually brought these Africans across the great waters, that they might be christianized here, and ultimately return to evangelize their own native land."

It has been eloquently said by my brother, that the negro cannot elevate himself here. He cannot find liberty on any foot of our Atlantic coast. He cannot find a peaceful, promising home in all our western border. Where then shall he go ? God himself has indicated a response to this momentous, this mysterious question. There is a wonderful connection between the *faith* of George Whitfield, and the *history* of Africa in America. It is difficult to imagine a more perspicuous or a more promising plan for evangelizing Africa, than God has successfully developed in the history of the black man in our country. That history is succinctly embodied in six great facts, very remarkably connected. Each constitutes a successive step in the process of African evangelization, and all move directly toward that result.

The *first* great fact is this : God, in his providence, separated a large mass of Africans from their fatherland, by the interposition of thousands of miles of ocean. What a blow to their paganism ! Go, ask the foreign missionary, what is the grand barrier to the conversion of the heathen. He will tell you, it is his heathen *sur-*



*roundings.* Let Christianity make an impression upon the dark mind of the pagan; he carries back that impression amidst the frowning heathenism of his parents, his kindred, his companions, his countrymen,—amidst all the adverse heathenism of the public sentiment, the institutions, the religion, and the history of his country. What is the issue? Why, such a deluge of hostile influence must instantly extinguish it. Let Christianity renew that impression and confirm it—yet when he has overthrown all the argument of his native national prejudices, the victory is not won, for he never reaches Christianity until he consents to part forever with property and character, and caste, and peace, and perhaps life itself. How admirably wise God's act, in the first great historical element under consideration. The African's separation from his native country, cuts him off from the fountain which supplied his paganism in the beginning, and sustained it under all adverse pressure; and so changes his condition that a surrender of his heathenism so far from quit-claiming all earthly good, rather works a saving of his character, standing, happiness, and all.

The *second* great fact in the history of the colored population in our country, is this: God caused the exported Africans to be landed on our shores. What a direct movement to substitute our Christianity for their paganism! There is no other conceivable method, whereby so immense and efficient a body of christianizing influence could be brought to bear upon them. The gospel power is not now confined to the verbal presentation of an abstract dogma, as in heathen lands; but Christianity is personified and displayed in the entire structure and progress of society. Its superior intelligence, virtue, power, and felicity, are not now left even to the teachings of the Bible and the Pulpit, but in all their most intelligent and admirable results are reflected on every hand, socially, politically, commercially, manually; nay, from every object on which the eye rests, from every sound that reaches the ear, and every instrument the hand touches, a *new truth*—a civilizing, refining, christianizing truth—must make its way into the dark mind of the imported pagan.

The *third* great fact is this: These Africans were landed on our shores and are still domesticated amongst us, as SLAVES. What a powerful, two-fold bearing has this condition of things upon the ultimate return of their posterity to their native country, as well-trained Christian evangelists! This relation of slaves to masters contributes to their conversion. The mightiest power known to a slave, is the power of the master. Indeed the relation of slave and master is little more than the relation of an inferior receiving his all from a superior. From the master, the slave receives food, raiment, shelter, *direction*, instruction, protection; nay, he looks to him for all his temporal good. When the superior speaks, it is especially vital to this relation that the inferior should give heed. When, therefore, the master bends over the servant, to give him the gospel, as he takes all else from the master, he receives this also, and very generally with a very teachable and grateful heart. This relation contributes another most necessary influence toward

the great end. If the Africans brought to this country were not *multiplied* and *perpetuated*, the great missionary plan must prove an abortion. Had the imported Africans been made freemen on their landing among us, they would have died out in the very first generation. They could just as easily have bailed out the ocean, and walked home to Africa dry-shod, as they could have fed and clothed and housed, and taught, and protected, and evangelized and Christianized themselves, without the aid of the master. The relation of master and slave, the third great fact in their history you perceive both perpetuates the race from age to age, and opens their hearts to the influence of the gospel.

The *fourth* great fact in the history is this: The wonderful success which has attended the propagation of the gospel among our imported heathen. Not many weeks since, I entered the office of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and enquired what was computed to be the number of heathen converts to Christianity, in all the missionary stations of the world. By the last computation, I was informed, about 170 or 180,000. Fix your eye upon that fraction of the heathen which God brought across the Atlantic, to this country. This day the Methodist Church, South, enrolls as large a number of colored, or quasi heathen members, as do all the Christian denominations in all the Pagan world. This day, the Baptist Church, South, enrolls as large a colored church membership as the Church of God, beside, has gathered on all the heathen ground of the earth. This day, the Old School, New School, and the Cumberland Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Protestant Methodist, the Lutheran, and various other Southern churches, have a colored church membership, which combined will probably be found not inferior in number to that of the Methodist or the Baptist. I would not be understood to speak with exact accuracy. But this I express as my strong conviction. Examine the posterity of all those Africans, which, in years gone by, Providence suffered to be introduced into our country, and you will find that Southern Christians have been assisted to convert to Christianity three times as many of them as all Christendom have been enabled to gather from all the remaining heathen of the world. I need not trace the bearing of this fact upon the execution of the missionary plan of evangelizing Africa, by Africans civilized and christianized in our country.

The *fifth* great fact in the history, conducts back to Africa the evangelizing elements prepared in this country. Multitudes of them, it will be remembered, are perpetually reaching the condition of freedom, by their own exertions, or by the kind emancipation of their masters. It is a speaking fact, that toward this class of our colored population, there is directed a growingly powerful expulsive force, both at the North and the South. There is springing up simultaneously in the hearts of the most enlightened of our free colored population a disposition to expatriation, for they are perfectly convinced, that liberty, equal liberty, they never, never will be permitted to enjoy in this country. And, finally, God has raised up a host of strong friends of African Colonization, North and

South, East and West, who have provided homes for them in their native land, and all the facilities of conveyance across the waters.

The last and crowning historical fact, presents us the man of color restored to freedom, and by his state of personal civilization and Christianity, going back to his own country every way qualified to officiate in enlightening, civilizing, pacifying, elevating and christianizing her degraded population. It is an interesting fact, that, two hundred and twenty years after the first black man was brought to this country, the American Colonization Society commenced to return the man of color to his native land. And it is a yet more important result, that, in spite of manifold discouragements, there, on the shores of Africa, are multitudes of returned natives, dwelling this day in villages and cities, which present, to the admiring and astonished nations around them, all the instructive and attractive institutions, attainments and enjoyments of civilized and christianized society. And if there can be one fact yet more interesting than even this, it is found in the intelligence brought us by every mail from Africa, that, while on the one hand the colored emigrant from this country is better qualified to act as an African evangelist than the white missionary, by a constitution better suited to the climate, and by a complexion less exposed to prejudice,—on the other, the natives of the country, far and near, are importuning them to come and communicate to them their seemingly purer religion and their visibly advanced civilization.

Mr. President, look at these six facts. How do they appear to your eye? As isolated, unconnected events? No, Sir! This whole operation is *the fruit of mind*. Do you doubt it? The traveler in a desert region picks up a *pen*. Can that man doubt for one instant that this instrument is the *product of mind*? Analyze it. It is the result of six successive movements of the knife upon a quill, each one of which is positively contributory and absolutely necessary to the construction of a delineating instrument. That man is a fool who contends that there is no intellect here, and that chance made this pen. Now, Sir, here are *six facts*. They constitute a process and a result—a continuance and an end—a palpable missionary plan, each successive step of which contributes directly to produce the necessary missionary result. Two grand works, you perceive, must be effected. The parties must first be qualified to evangelize by conversion, then returned to the field to be evangelized. Look on and see how systematically God has accomplished both. By the *first* fact, God *takes away their paganism*. By the *second*, God *places them under powerful Christian influence*. By the *third*, God *preserves* them from destruction, and disposes them to receive Christianity. By the *fourth*, God wonderfully converts them. By the *fifth*, Providence works their expulsion from this country and their inclination to return to their own. By the *sixth*, they are restored to their native land all qualified, established, furnished to do the work. Will any man stultify himself by affirming that all this was fortuitous? Rather, who does not see God's hand verifying the prediction of George Whitfield, and executing a great missionary movement, by all the history of the col-

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Address of the Rev. Mr. Stiles.

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ored man in America. Yes! Mr. President, beyond all doubt, the Colonization Society is the device of Divinity, to spread the glorious light of the gospel over the dark bosom of Africa. Let every good man, therefore, enlist under the banner of this noble institution, and let him bring an enterprise of soul somewhat commensurate with the benignity, the majesty, the great glory of that divine enterprise he advances to promote.

I rarely recur to the history which connects Africa and America, without a cheering recollection of the animated language of Moses, on a memorable occasion—"For ask now of the days that are past which were before thee, since the days that God created man upon earth. And ask from the one end of Heaven unto the other, whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it. Hath God assayed to go and take hence a nation from the midst of another nation by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord did for you in Egypt before your eyes."

Tell me! Does not our case furnish an approximation at least to the wonderful movement, which so vehemently roused the admiration of the man of God? In the days of Moses, God drew forth Israel from temporal bondage in the bosom of a heathen nation, that He might educate His people to fling spiritual liberty around the world. In the days of our fathers, God brought the heathen sons of Africa into temporal bondage in the bosom of our Christian country, that he might here educate them to carry back the glorious blessings of the gospel to the benighted tribes, which spread over the dark land whence they came. Rest assured of it, God's mind, heart and hand are all engaged, deeply engaged, in this sublime enterprise to overthrow the horrid, dominant, destructive superstitions of Africa. And rest assured of it, we have here the one only test of the one only nobleman upon the face of the earth. I care not what your talents, your courage, your benevolence, your dignity, your morality, your magnanimity! If you have not a heart as large as the world; if you cannot throw your sympathy across the great waters and seize the poor perishing African, and long to help him; if you have no soul to study, to appreciate, and to adopt God's glorious movement for his redemption; in a word, if you feel nothing stirring within you to come up and co-work with God, in the evangelization of Africa, and the conversion of the world, you may record it as an established fact, that you are a man of a narrow heart, a descendant of the energy and benevolence of Heaven, but cursed to destruction by the wilful indulgence of a supine and selfish spirit. Escape fallen man this profound degradation forthwith, and enroll yourself among the zealous advocates of the American Colonization Society this very night.

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Address of the Rev. J. B. Pinney.

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The Rev. J. B. PINNEY then said :

MR. PRESIDENT—I am sorry you have called upon me to say anything, after the eloquent addresses from the speakers who have preceded me. No one will have an interest to hear me after being enchanted by Dr. Stiles.

As to the detailed statements to which allusion was made, relative to the condition of Liberia, and in correction of some prevalent errors as to the real progress already made there, they are out of the question, at this late hour, and as they are fully set forth from time to time in the African Repository, I cannot do better than to recommend that all the audience go to-morrow and subscribe for the Repository. Concerning the squalor, and hardship, and suffering, which is represented to exist in Liberia, we say that except so much as is incident to all communities, that in Liberia is but a brief incident, the correction of which is already at hand, and which chiefly resulted from the proximity of our settlements to the mangrove swamps near the sea coast. By forming settlements in the interior, already so successfully begun at Careysburg, the remedy will be almost certain. Ignorance, rashness, and imprudent exposure, are the causes of death to many enterprising men soon after their arrival, and as nearly all are without property, there will necessarily be suffering and want among the widows and orphans who survive.

But even these hardships are not always an evil, as not a few, compelled to struggle, grow up with vigor and energy to battle in the conflict of life. These hardships are not the great hindrance to this noble Colonization work. Suspicions, of the most opposite kind, from the extremes of our land, have existed from the very beginning of our work. At the South, there has been a fear that the Society was in disguise, an Abolition movement, while by the ultra Abolitionists of the North it has been considered a scheme to prop up slavery; and for these contrary reasons bitterly opposed. Time will work a remedy for these, and meanwhile waiting in hope we have reason to recognize the signal prosperity of our Society and of the Republic of Liberia during the year 1859. The great field of Missions in Africa first attracted me there, anticipating that the work would soon be done. The experience of a few years forced the conviction on my mind, that, as Dr. Stiles has so forcibly said, a wise Providence had prepared among the christianized and civilized sons of Africa in America, the instruments most available for the work of Missions in Africa. In this great truth is the strength of our cause, and therefore it will not fail, nor be abandoned.



## EXTRACTS

FROM THE

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

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WASHINGTON CITY, January 17, 1860.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY met this day at 12 o'clock, in the Lecture Room of the Smithsonian Institution, in the City of Washington.

The Hon. J. H. B. LATROBE, President of the Society, being unavoidably absent, the Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, D. D., of New Jersey, was called to preside.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. PINNEY, of New York.

The Rev. Messrs. TRACY and PINNEY were appointed a committee on credentials.

The following gentlemen were reported as entitled to seats in the Board:

#### *Life Directors present.*

JOHN P. CROZER, Esq., Penn.; Rev. R. R. GURLEY, D. C.; Dr. JAMES HALL, Baltimore; Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, New Jersey; Rev. Wm. McLAIN, D. C.; Rev. JOHN ORCUTT, Conn.; Rev. J. B. PINNEY, New York; SOLOMON STURGIS, Esq., Illinois; Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, Massachusetts.

*Massachusetts*—Hon. A. H. RICE.

*Connecticut*—Hon. W. A. BUCKINGHAM, Hon. S. H. HUNTINGTON, Hon. J. A. ROCKWELL, Gen. E. A. ELLIOTT, Rev. R. J. CONE.

*New York*—Hon. D. S. GREGORY, CALEB SWAN, Esq., Hon. JAMES W. BLECKMAN, W. E. DODGE, Esq., Hon. E. G. SPAULDING, SMITH BLOOMFIELD, Esq., FRANCIS HALL, Esq.

*Pennsylvania*—Wm. V. PETTIT, Esq., Wm. COPPINGER, Esq.

The Hon. N. G. TAYLOR, of Tennessee, GEORGE S. HALL, Esq., of Baltimore, the Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, and Rev. T. B. BALCH, and Rev. Mr. NORTON, of Virginia, were invited to sit with the Board as corresponding members.

The report of the Committee on Credentials concluded with the following resolution, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That it be the duty of the Financial Secretary, at each annual meeting, to furnish the Committee on Credentials with a statement of the amount of funds received from each State and Territory, and with the amount expended by this Society, in cash, for salaries and agencies.

The record of last year's proceedings was read by the Financial Secretary.

The Annual Report was read by the Corresponding Secretary ; and Messrs. Tracy and Huntington were appointed a committee to confer with him in regard to the parts to be read this evening.

On motion of the same, a committee was appointed to prepare a resolution expressive of the sense entertained by this Board of the high value of the services rendered to the cause during the year by the President of the Society.

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WEDNESDAY, January 18, 1860.

The Board met according to adjournment—Rev. Dr. MACLEAN in the chair.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. TRACY, the minutes of the session yesterday were read and approved.

The Chairman announced the Standing Committees of the Board, as follows :

1. *On Foreign Relations*, Rev. Dr. PINNEY, and Hon. A. H. RICE.
2. *On Finance*, Rev. Dr. TRACY, and W. E. DODGE, Esq.
3. *On Auxiliary Societies*, Hon. S. H. HUNTINGTON, and S. STURGIS, Esq.
4. *On Agencies*, Dr. L. A. SMITH, and W. COPPINGER, Esq.
5. *On Accounts*, Dr. JAMES HALL, and Rev. R. J. CONE.
6. *On Emigration*, JOHN P. CROZER, Esq., and S. BLOOMFIELD, Esq.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Tracy, it was—

*Resolved*, That so much of the Annual Report as relates to Foreign Relations, to Finance, to Auxiliary Societies, to Agencies, to Accounts, and to Emigration, be referred to the committees on those subjects respectively.

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Letter from Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe.

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The following letter from the Hon. J. H. B. LATROBE, President of the Society, was read by the Corresponding Secretary :

*To the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society—*

GENTLEMEN: I feel, with very great regret, that the trial of an important case, in which I am occupied here, will prevent my presiding at the business meetings of the present session of the Board. I regret this, especially, because I regard the occasion as one of more than ordinary interest to our cause. The public mind is unusually excited upon the subject of the colored population; and although slavery, in its different aspects, is the main topic of discussion, yet the free people of color, to whom our labors immediately refer, are deeply concerned in what is taking place in this connection. It was to provide a home for those when circumstances beyond human control made their removal from the United States a necessity, recognized by themselves, that the colonies on the west coast of Africa, now known as the Republic of Liberia, were founded. It was long ago anticipated that the natural increase and foreign emigration would sooner or later produce a competition among the laboring classes, in which the free colored man would be driven to the wall.

This competition is now everywhere observable, and the free people of color are everywhere the sufferers. Instances of wealth are doubtless more numerous among them; their intelligence is greater, and education is more diffused than formerly; but the condition of the great body, and their relations to the whites are inferior to what they were when our Society was organized. It is annually becoming worse. It cannot be otherwise. The causes of its deterioration are still accumulating day by day in the ever increasing population of our country.

Formerly the pressure upon the free people of color was in some sort elastic and bearable, as the west attracted the competing labor. But the west is filling up. The public domain is passing rapidly into the hands of individuals, and as the throng upon the Atlantic border and all the great cities is multiplied, the pressure is in a fair way to become intolerable. This is not a matter of speculation, but of figures. At the first census, in 1790, the entire population of the United States was not far from four millions. When our Society was organized in 1816 it was estimated at about nine millions. The average of the six past decades will give a population, in 1900, of one hundred millions, and in seven decades (seventy years only) from 1860 it will, in all probability, exceed two hundred and thirty millions. What then will be the condition of the free people of color if they remain where they are? Excluded even now from many an accustomed calling by a white rivalry, is it likely their prospects will be improved when such rivalry shall have increased seven-fold?

But the increase of population operates so quietly as to attract but little observation from day to day, and it requires some startling concurrence of circumstances to procure for it, in this connection, the attention it deserves. Now, however, when all men's minds are excited as regards the future of our country, it is only reasonable to suppose that the views here suggested will not be altogether overlooked. They are those which have been entertained from the beginning by the enlightened and supporters of the colonization scheme; and as time has illustrated their truth, they have entitled them to the gravest consideration from the statesmen and philanthropists of the day.

But the increase of population is not the only circumstance now to be regarded by the free people of color and their friends. Hitherto emigration,

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Letter from Hon. A. H. B. Latrobe.

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whenever it has taken place, has been voluntary. It has always been optional with the free colored man to go or stay. Now, however, compulsory emigration is threatened in more than one State of the Union, presenting to the class in question the alternatives of slavery or removal; and although law, justice, religion, and the commonest humanity revolt at the idea, yet the mere existence of the feeling that suggests it, should induce the objects of it to ponder well a future, among whose possibilities may be the execution of a threat, which is now, we trust, for the honor of our country, but the *brutum fulmen* of a temporary excitement. Whether the free people of color take this view of the subject, or look to the increase of population as the only matter that can affect them, we may now feel confident that the day is not remote when they will appreciate, as they deserve, and bless the wisdom and the forecast of those who prepared for them in Africa a home where, protected by climate, as by an impregnable rampart, against the encroachments of the white man, they may develop, in a separate nationality, their capacity and power.

So much for colonization as it bears upon the free people of color. But it has other and equally important relations. It presents the only platform, in this connection, upon which the north and south can meet. Eschewing all discussion in regard to slavery, it limits itself to the removal to Liberia of those who are willing to emigrate. Whether it is a free colored man from the north desirous to escape from the coming pressure, or to better his condition, or an emancipated slave whom the laws of a southern State may require to be removed, it is the same to the Society. Both have their functions to fulfil in their new home, in building up a nation there which, commending itself to the Christian as a vast missionary agency for evangelizing a continent, should be looked upon by the Statesmen of our country, north and south, as the refuge of a people whose remaining here must involve, necessarily, all the evils attendant upon the existence in the same land of two distinct races of freemen, between whom amalgamation by intermarriage must be regarded as impossible, and the most prominent of which must be a strife for bread, involving equally the great body of both classes of the population.

Seeing, then, in every aspect of our cause, so many reasons at this time for perseverance in its regard, I especially regret my inability to preside over your present deliberations. But I am very sure that their result will be the promotion of the efficiency of the Society, and that, uninfluenced by outside agitations, and adhering to the letter and spirit of our constitution, which limits our action to "the removal of the free colored people of the United States, with their own consent, to Africa," the Board will be content to abide the time when the operations of the causes that have been referred to will result in the full and perfect fruition of the great scheme of African colonization.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

*Pres. Am. Col. Soc.*

BALTIMORE, January 16, 1860.

A report was read from Dr. James Hall, as agent and treasurer for the ship *Mary Caroline Stevens*, dated Baltimore, January 16th, and on motion, was referred, with a printed summary of the receipts and payments for the same, to the Finance Committee.

BALTIMORE, January 16, 1860.

Rev. Wm. McLain, *Financial Secretary and Treasurer A. C. S.*—

DEAR SIR: In addition to the accounts current with the ship *Mary Caroline Stevens*, which I have from time to time transmitted to you during the past year, I take the liberty to hand you herewith two other papers, which I beg you will lay before the Board of Directors, that those who feel a special interest in the enterprise of the ship may be able to see at a glance the result of her management. 1st. A summary of her expenses and earnings during the past year. 2d. A general exhibit of the same for the entire period she has been employed in the service of the Society, with some explanatory remarks.

It will appear on examination of these papers that the ship has just about paid her current expenses, including insurance and the interest on her estimated value; creating no surplus fund by which her place may be supplied when she shall be no longer fit for service.

THE result certainly is not what was expected, even by those who most strongly opposed the chimerical scheme of running a steamer of large tonnage between the United States and Liberia. I, for one, entertained not a doubt but a good ship like the *Mary Caroline Stevens* would pay all current charges of sailing, repairs, insurance, and interest on her cost, and gradually stock a capital that would supply her place when either lost or worn out. Why she has not done this will at once appear on examination of the estimates referred to. In the first place, she has never yet had her full complement of emigrants. Her average has been a fraction less than 120, when she could carry over 200; a diminution in each voyage, in this one item, of \$3,000;—or \$6,000 annually. This alone, if earned and laid by, would buy a ship of the cost of the *Stevens* in less than eight years. Neither has she in but one instance had a full complement of cabin passengers, and upon an average not over half the number she could well accommodate. The cost of the ship in construction was increased several thousand dollars to render her commodious for this purpose, that she might be considered not only a *Colonization* but a *Missionary* ship; and it was hoped that the various missionary societies in the United States would either be disposed to co-operate with the Colonization Society, and consider the ship as the *Missionary's* home while crossing the Atlantic and in voyaging up and down the coast. I regret to say I have found no such disposition manifested. True, most of the Societies have sent Missionaries and freight by the ship, but quite as often by other vessels from our Atlantic ports; and I am bold to say, from her long record of complaint as to the accommodations of the Ship, the character of her officers, or the provisions put on board for their use. Few sailing vessels leave any port in the United States under better management or affording better accommodations for cabin passengers in every respect than the *Mary Caroline Stevens*.

THE *Mary Caroline* has averaged less than one-quarter of the capacity of the ship; in fact, the first year, entire, it only amounted to \$164 30, and on the third voyage but to \$210. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth voyages it has increased near \$2,000, and may be considered as promising an increase in future. The greater part of this freight, however, has been furnished by the Agent of the Ship.

Should emigration receive a new impetus, as we confidently hope, a few years will enable the Ship to stock a sum sufficient to supply her place in case of loss or unseaworthiness: or should she receive that patronage in cabin passengers which we had reason to hope, and the home freight increase to the



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Report of Dr. James Hall.

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extent of even half her capacity, then the same result may be accomplished. The Agent has taken measures for opening a timber trade with Liberia, which, if successful, will not only prove advantageous to the Republic, by creating a new article of export, but will, no doubt, materially increase the home freight of the ship.

Independent of pecuniary considerations, the regular running of the ship has fully answered the expectations of the advocates for the measure. Africa is brought nearer to America; and every arrival of the ship in port is a renewed guarantee to the colored people of our land of the good faith of the Colonization Society, and proves that their brethren and friends have found a home across the Atlantic to which they can go when their sojourn here shall be no longer desirable.

I take the liberty of calling your attention to a matter personal to myself; and that is, my salary as Agent. The summary of accounts handed you herewith embraces a term of three years, ending October 31, 1859. I have as yet received but two years salary; the first paid during the second year of my services on account of the first, and the second during the third on account of the second. I would suggest that I receive compensation for the past year's service now in cash, as cash has been paid on account of freight furnished by the house with which I am connected, and that my salary for the current year also be paid at its close, viz: October, 1860.

I cannot doubt but the reasonableness of this proposition will be readily admitted; in fact, it almost becomes a necessity, in order to the proper entry of the ship's accounts.

All of which is most respectfully submitted.

JAMES HALL,

*Agent and Treasurer of the Trustees of the ship M. C. Stevens.*

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Report of Dr. James Hall.

*Expenses.*      *Summary of the Expenses and Earnings of the Ship Mary Caroline Stevens. Voyage E.*      *Earnings.*

Bills of Provisions for Ship's company, passengers and emigrants, the entire voyage out and home.....	\$1,832 75	Freight out, sundry parties, paid here, viz:	
Portage Bill, for wages of officers and crew, General Disbursement Bills in port, as port charges, Plate and Steam Towing in and out, Stevedores, Fuel, Water, Drayage, Wharfage, &c.....	2,802 34	G. W. S. Hall & Co.....	\$2,046 67
Do. Do. on the Coast, for Kroomen's Wages, Port Charges, Fresh Provisions, Vegetables, &c.....	1,149 02	J. M. Miller.....	248 41
Sundry bill of repairs, boats, oars, furniture, &c.....	903 99	Episcopal Mission.....	231 32
Ship Chindery, including Cordage, Galley Furniture, &c.....	513 61	American Missionary Society.....	141 20
Sundry Expenses, incident to Freight, as Coastwise Freight, Telegrams, Express Charges, &c.....	974 14	Md. State Colonization Society.....	72 41
One-half of the Annual Insurance on \$20,000, $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 per cent., \$775 50 To which add cash paid for extending last year's insurance 1 month, 33 33	262 06	Sundry small freights.....	449 95
		Freight out, collected by Capt. Heaps in Liberia.....	615 13
From which deduct Insurance Scrip received.....	\$808 83	Passage money, voyage out, paid here.....	1,720 00
Half-year's Salary of Agent for last year, in freight paid by him at \$1.50 per barrel, as per Resolution of Board of Directors.....	240 07	Do. Coastwise, collected by Capt. Heaps.....	395 25
		Do. Home.....	565 00
		Do. paid here.....	187 50
		Do. Mr. & Mrs. Hill, unpaid, 70 00	2,937 75
		Freight home, col. by Capt. Heaps.....	468 27
		Do. paid by G. W. S. Hall & Co.....	1,007 85
		Do. paid by sundry parties in small items.....	131 85
		Proceeds of Sale of Stores, Oars, &c., by Capt. Heaps.....	219 87
		Freight and Emigrants by Am. Col. Soc.	902 29
		Freight to Agents of Stores, Provisions, &c. Passage of 31 adults and 13 children, at \$35 and \$17.50.....	1,312 50
		Passage of Emigrants by Md. St. Col. Soc. charged in account, viz: 6 adults and 2 children, say, 7 adults, at \$35.....	245 00
Balance.....	\$9,756 67		
	1,274 01		
	<u>\$11,030 68</u>		
		By Balance.....	\$1,274 01
BALTIMORE, April 30, 1859.			<u>\$11,030 68</u>

*Expenses.*      *Summary of Expenses and Earnings of the Ship Mary Caroline Stevens for Voyage F.*      *Earnings.*

Report of Dr. James Hall.

Bills of Stores and Provisions for Ship's Company, Passengers and Emigrants the entire Voyage.....	\$1,838 47	Passage money out, paid by Presbyterian Mission.....	\$225 00
Portage Bill, for wages of Officers and Crew .....	2,348 11	Sundry freights out, paid in advance, viz: G. W. S. Hall & Co.....	\$382 18
General Disbursement bills in port, as port charges, Pilotage and Steam Tow in and out, Stevedores, Wharfage, Drayage, &c.....	694 44	J. M. Miller.....	\$335 77
Do. Do. on the Coast for Port Charges, Kroomen, Vegetables, &c.....	514 40	Presbyterian Mission.....	194 05
Shipy Bells for Repairs in Port.....	685 11	Asbury Jarrett.....	128 62
Shipy Chandlery, including Cordage, Galley Furniture, &c.....	691 21	Sundry smaller items of freight.....	110 96
Sundry Charges for inland freights, Express, &c.....	17 75	Freight out, collected by Captain Etchberger on the Coast.....	1,575 98
Half-year's Insurance on \$20,000, 7½ and 8 per cent.....	775 50	Passage money, Coastwise.....	169 00
Half-year's Salary of Agent for last year, in freight paid by him at \$1.50 per barrel, as per Resolution of the Board of Directors .....	750 00	Do. do. home .....	945 00
		Freight home by sundry parties, viz: G. W. S. Hall & Co.....	\$1,412 12
		J. M. Miller.....	224 87
		Mr. Gammon.....	149 02
		James Girvin.....	21 22
		Mr. Neville.....	20 24
		Asbury Jarrett.....	26 63
		Sundry smaller items of freight.....	13 95
		Stores sold on the Coast, \$103 54; Boat sold, \$80.....	183 54
		Freight and Emigrants by Am. Col. Soc.— Freight to Agents of Stores, Provisions, &c. Do. on Sundries shipped by Mr. McLean to sundry parties.....	1,388 81 51 03
		Passage of 73 adults and 26 children, at \$35 and \$17.50.....	3,010 00
		One passenger by Md. St. Col. Soc.....	35 00
Balance.....	1,136 42		4,484 84
	\$9,451 41		\$9,451 41
		By Balance.....	\$1,136 42

BALTIMORE, October 31, 1859.

Report of Dr. James Hall.

## General Summary of the Expenses and Earnings of the Ship since she commenced running, to the end of her 6th Voyage.

	Voyage A.	Voyage B.	Total 1st Year.	Voyage C.	Voyage D.	Total 2d Year.	Voyage E.	Voyage F.	Total 3d Year.	Yearly av.
Expenses of Sailing, Repairs & Insurance,	\$7,333	\$8,442	\$15,835	\$7,901	\$8,453	\$16,354	\$9,756	\$8,314	\$18,070	\$16,753
Paying Freight and Passenger Money...	4,050	3,214	7,264	2,976	4,996	7,972	8,570	4,966	13,536	9,591
Emigrants & freight of Col. Societies...	7,202	7,495	14,697	6,191	3,910	10,131	2,459	4,884	6,943	10,590
Gross income, from all sources.....	11,252	10,709	21,961	9,167	8,936	18,103	11,029	9,450	20,479	20,181
Balance to Credit of Ship.....	3,858	2,266	6,124	1,267	486	1,753	1,571	1,136	2,410	3,429
Time consumed in Voyage.....	4mos.20ds.	4 mos. 8ds.		4mos.19ds.	4mos.16ds.		4mos.21ds.	5 mos. 6ds		4mos.20ds.

*1st Item, Expenses.*—The material increase in the third year over the two preceding, was owing, in some degree, to the fact of the Ship's touching at Sierra Leone, in Voyage E, to land cabin passengers and freight, incurring port charges thereby, and also being subject to charges for damage to a lighter used in discharging; but mainly to her having protracted passages each way, from a succession of calms and head winds. Her average expenses, barring accidents and heavy repairs, may fairly be estimated at \$16,500.

*2d. Paying Freight and Cabin Passengers.*—Of this, there has been a pretty steady, annual increase, and in the last year, a material one, caused mainly by freight home, the greater part of which has been furnished by the Agent.

*3d. Freight and Emigrants by the Colonization Societies*—A material decrease will be noticed in this item since the first year, and even then, the number of emigrants fell considerably short of the capacity of the Ship. In one voyage, but 52, all told, were furnished. With an emigration like the last few years preceding the building of the Ship, her income would be raised at least 50 per cent. and with but a slight proportional increase of expense.

*4th & 5th. Gross income, and Balance to the Cr. of the Ship.*—The Gross income, it will be seen, maintains nearly a uniform rate, the diminution in net income or balance being caused mainly by the increased expenses of the third year. The gain or net income will just about pay the interest on the estimated value of the Ship, leaving no surplus to meet heavy repairs from accidents, re-coppering, or to supply her place when worn out or rendered unseaworthy. An increase of emigration to the extent of the capacity of the Ship, even with the freight heretofore furnished, would enable her, in ten years, to stock a capital sufficient to meet all probable contingencies, and to build a new ship to supply her place.

*6th. Time Consumed in the Round Voyage.*—When it is considered that the voyage to Liberia is one-third longer than to Liverpool, that the ship passes and re-passes through a region of habitual calms, that she touches at every port in Liberia, five in number, going and returning, lands and receives freight and passengers from open roadsteads, averaging at least one mile from the landing, and performs all this service in an average of 4 months and 20 days, there can be little doubt as to her sailing qualities, or the industry and energy of her captain and officers.

The Corresponding Secretary presented a brief communication from the President of the Society, mentioning several subjects to which, at the request of the last Board of Directors, he had given his special attention.

The Financial Secretary read the annual statement of the Executive Committee; which was, on motion, referred to the appropriate standing committees.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Pinney, it was—

*Resolved*, That so much of the statement of the Executive Committee as relates to the purchase of a lot and the erection of a building for the use of the Society, be referred to a special committee.

Messrs. Pinney, Huntington and Hall were appointed said committee.

The Travelling Secretary of the Society read his annual report, which was, on motion, referred to the standing committee on Agencies.

HARTFORD, *January 1, 1860.*

[An Abstract.]

*To the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society—*

GENTLEMEN: I have visited many of the larger towns in New England during the year, presenting the cause usually to one or more congregations on the Sabbath, and occasionally at other times, and it gives me pleasure to say I have invariably met with a kind reception and an attentive hearing. The prospect of advancing the cause by public address was never, in my judgment, more encouraging. I speak of the north. At the south, just now, as I am creditably informed, the reverse is true.

The amount of my personal collections is about \$4,500. I hope and believe that more will be given in New England the present year than was the last. The effects of the late commercial pressure are still felt, especially in Maine, and other communities largely interested in shipping.

Rev. Franklin Butler, who has been in the service of the Society about two-thirds of the year, in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, has been diligently employed in surveying his field, and doing what he could by public address and otherwise for the promotion of the cause. He is much interested in his work; has made himself acceptable to the people thus far, and confidently expects to succeed in his undertaking. That his agency will be increasingly productive there is no good reason to doubt.

The New Hampshire State society, which has had no visible existence for years, has been reorganized and reanimated, and its influence for good will hereafter, I trust, be felt throughout the State.

The Liberians pursuing a course of study in Connecticut are making commendable progress, and are expecting to graduate in the course of the present year, and return to Liberia, taking some of their colored friends in the State with them. A few individuals emigrated from Connecticut in the barque "Mendi," which sailed from New York last spring.

I will only add, I am more and more impressed with a sense of the importance which attaches to the success of this enterprise, and the duty in these



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 Agencies.
 

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troubled times of urging its claims with solemn earnestness upon the attention of the Christian public. I do not feel at all troubled that the number of emigrants from year to year is not larger. Enough for me to know that we are making real progress, and to believe that God will hasten the work in his own best time. What seems most desirable to me is, a correct, healthful public sentiment on the subject here at home, and whatever can be done to secure it will be effort in the right direction.

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN ORCUTT.

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Reports from agents of the Society, were read by the Corresponding Secretary, and referred to the Committee on Agencies, as follows:

Letters from Rev. J. N. DANFORTH, D. D., January 2, 1860; and Rev. E. G. NICHOLSON, December 29, and January 7, 1860.

The following resolution was offered by the Rev. Dr. Pinney, and referred to the Committee on Agencies:

*Resolved*, That the year having passed for which the Rev. E. G. Nicholson was appointed General Agent of the Northwest, said agency be discontinued.

On motion, the Board then adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

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THURSDAY MORNING, January 19, 1860.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment: the Rev. Dr. John Maclean in the chair.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. R. J. Cone.

The minutes of yesterday's session were read and approved.

The Committee on Accounts reported as follows, which was approved.

The undersigned, Committee on Accounts, appointed by the Board of Directors, have made an examination of the entries of cash paid out by the Financial Secretary in the Treasurer's book, together with the vouchers for each item, endorsed by the chairman of the Executive Committee, and find them entirely correct.

JAMES HALL,  
REMILO J. CONE.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1860.

The Committee on Agencies made a report, which was adopted, and is as follows:

The Committee on Agencies respectfully report:

That they have examined the documents submitted to them; and as the whole subject of financial agents is one on which there exists a difference of opinion in the public mind, and as our constitution places the authority for their appointment and management in the hands of the Executive Committee, we do not recommend any specific action at this time.

## Committee on Emigration.

A year since the Board appointed the Rev. E. G. Nicholson agent for the northwest. As that gentleman has virtually resigned his commission, the committee recommend that said agency be discontinued.

They further recommend that the latter portion of the report of the Rev. Mr. Orcutt, which relates to the duties of his agency, be published with the minutes.

Respectfully submitted.

L. A. SMITH.  
WM. COPPINGER.

The Committee on Emigration made the subjoined report, which was approved, and the resolution attached was amended, and on motion adopted, as follows :

Your committee, to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to emigration, respectfully report :

That they have given the subject such attention as the brief time allotted to them allowed, and find it of deep and increasing interest.

Your committee will not advert to the causes, real or imaginary, which may have heretofore retarded, or which may *just now* operate to check, emigration to Liberia; for it is believed such impediments must very soon yield to a more truthful impression in the minds of our colored brethren that the Republic of Liberia has greatly superior attractions over any other place as a permanent home for them.

It is clearly the duty of this Society, in the minds of your committee, to continue, and even increase, the hitherto liberal policy of its Executive Committee in provision for the comfort of emigrants on their arrival on the shores of Africa and their permanent establishment there.

The testimony of the Rev. John Seys, in a comparison of the condition of Liberia when he left it in 1857 with what he found it after a two years absence, in 1859, is highly encouraging in regard to the progress of agricultural industry and the useful arts.

In connection with the liberal provision for emigrants for a reasonable time, your committee recognize the desirableness of an easy communication between the seaboard and the interior; and to effect this, in part, an early completion of the projected road from a point on St. Paul's river to Careysburg, in such way as may be acceptable to the authorities of Liberia, is recommended.

The policy of the Board in regard to emigration from the northern States seems best: to accept such applicants only as, from previously established character, are likely to be useful citizens. Of this class there are now over sixty applicants to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, residents of that State, who express their willingness to embark when provision is made for their passage, &c.

Your committee feel the importance of encouraging the emigration of farmers and cultivators of the soil. However desirable it may be to extend commerce, and the building up of the seaboard towns, it is believed that a more enlarged cultivation of the soil is essential to the permanent prosperity of the Republic. This class of citizens, too, from the nature of their pursuits, become more identified with the institutions of the country than any other.

It is a source of regret that there are so few beasts of burden in the settlements, and successful prosecution of agriculture seems to require more attention to this subject. Cannot some measures be adopted to secure an increase

of such annuals of labor as may be best suited to the climate? The manufacture of sugar and the growth of cotton seem to claim the attention of Liberians.

Your committee would, in conclusion, submit the following resolution for the consideration of the Board:

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to purchase and send out to such agent in Liberia as they may select a few simply constructed sugar mills, (Cotton Gins,) and such other agricultural implements as are suited to the productions of the country, not exceeding in the whole an expenditure of two thousand dollars, to be sold at cost and expenses for cash, or for short credit, when necessary, to parties whom the said agent may deem worthy of confidence.

Mr. Tracy, of the Committee on Finance, submitted a report, which was adopted, and is as follows:

The undersigned, being left alone on the Committee of Finance by the early retirement of his colleague, Wm. E. Dodge, esq., has given to the documents placed in his hands such attention as he could.

The papers concerning the Mary Caroline Stevens seem to need no criticism. They fully and clearly explain themselves; and they contain all the suggestions which occur to the undersigned as necessary and proper. At the close the Agent calls attention to the fact that his salary of one thousand dollars a year is one year in arrears, and requests its payment to date as necessary, in order to avoid confusion in the accounts. This arrearage arises from no fault of the Executive Committee or the Treasurer of the Society, but from the fact that the Agent, with his accustomed liberality, did not retain in his own hands enough of the proceeds of the ship's first year's work to pay his salary for that year. The matter has not yet been brought to the attention of the Executive Committee, who will doubtless arrange that claim as it should be, on presentation, without any specific order from this Board.

All the investments of funds made during the year are apparently safe, and some of them are certainly excellent. The same may be said of all since 1854, inclusive. Some stocks purchased in 1851 are understood to be of a less desirable quality, but should probably be kept, as they could not be sold for their real value. The Executive Committee will doubtless exchange them for more productive stocks, whenever it can be done without loss.

The amount of productive securities appears to be \$87,540, yielding, at six per cent., an income of \$5,252 40. The real estate in this city yields thirty dollars per month; but this will soon cease, either by the removal of the present buildings, for the erection of the Society's buildings, or by the sale of the lot, preparatory to the purchase of another. It is not understood that the lands in Illinois and in Georgia yield any income.

A large proportion of the investments are such as may remain undisturbed for some years, and yet they may be changed whenever desirable.

It does not appear that the Society has any permanent funds—that is, any funds which it may not legally use for the current expenses of any year when they may be needed. It is probably not desirable to accumulate any such funds. All charitable corporations should expect a time when their labors will be no longer needed, and their business should be closed. The settlement of New England was commenced under the patronage of an incorporated company; but in a few years political changes so increased the motives for emigration that emigration went on independently of the company, and the

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 Reports of Committees.
 

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company became obsolete, is and now only known in history. Such may, very possibly, be the history of this Society; and it seems advisable that its business should be so conducted as to be ready for all such emergencies.

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH TRACY.

On motion of Rev. Wm. McLain, it was—

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Messrs. Tracy and Crozer were appointed said committee.

The hour of 12 o'clock having arrived, the Board adjourned for the holding of the meeting of the Society; and after a brief recess the Board again proceeded to business.

The Committee to nominate officers of the Society, recommended the election of the following named gentlemen; when the report was adopted, and the persons mentioned below were declared duly elected, viz:

*Executive Committee:*

HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D.,  
 JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, Esq.,  
 WILLIAM GUNTON, Esq.,  
 REV. GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.,  
 HON. WILLIAM MERRICK,  
 HON. GEORGE P. SCARBURGH.  
 (Vacancy.)

*Corresponding Secretary:*

REV. R. R. GURLEY.

*Financial Secretary and Treasurer:*

REV. WILLIAM McLAIN.

*Travelling Secretary:*

REV. JOHN ORCUTT.

The Chairman made some remarks in relation to the proposed settlement of the New Jersey purchase of land in Liberia, and was followed by Messrs. McLain, Gurley, and others.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley, from the special Committee to prepare an expression of gratitude to the President of the Society, reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Board highly appreciate the services rendered to this Society by the Hon J. H. B. LATROBE, the President, during the last year, and beg leave to express to him their grateful acknowledgments for the great ability, zeal and disinterestedness with which he has dedicated a large amount of time and effort to advance the cause.

The Rev. Dr. Pinney, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, presented a report, which was approved, and the following resolution attached was adopted, viz:

## Reports of Committees.

The Committee on Foreign Relations find little to report upon. They concur with the Corresponding Secretary in hearty approval of the honorable conduct of the government of Liberia in the delicate affairs connected with the policy of the government of France, and as heartily of their benevolent regard for the welfare of the American Colonization around them.

The sweet proofs of friendship which Liberia has received from the government of Great Britain and the King of Belgium may be interpreted to express the confidence of those governments in the integrity and good faith of the Republic.

The fact that our government has not yet formed a formal treaty with Liberia is exceedingly to be regretted, as alike injurious and unjust to the people who have, with the approval, and, to some extent, with the co-operation of our government, gone to try the experiment of self-government.

By a law of the United States, which was designed to promote friendly treaties with foreign nations, a small discriminating duty is laid upon the tonnage and goods imported in the ships of nations with whom we have no treaties. This discrimination applies to vessels belonging to Liberia, and is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as by her laws, vessels of the United States are placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

Your committee conclude by offering the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be requested to take such means as may seem most effective to call the attention of the government of the United States to this condition, and secure their influence, if possible, to have Liberian vessels and their cargoes placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

The Rev. Dr. Pinney, from the special committee on the purchase of a lot and the erection of a building for the Society, submitted a report, which was modified and adopted, and the resolutions of the committee were taken up *seriatim*, amended, and adopted, and are as follows:

The committee to whom was referred so much of the statement of the Executive Committee as refers to the building of a colonization building, beg leave to report, concisely, as follows:

Resolutions were passed by the Board of Directors, at the session of January, 1859, authorizing the President of the Society and Executive Committee, on consultation and mutual agreement, to make a purchase of a site, and prepare or have erected a sumptuous building adequate to the business of the Society.

No building is ready or begun. There appears to some extent an explanation of this delay in the different constructions as to the objects intended by the resolutions, and the limitations of expense contained in them.

Inasmuch as delay has occurred, and the whole subject is again properly before the Board for its consideration and direction, your committee recommend that the Board pass the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That, in providing the proposed building, reference should be had not only to secure commodious offices for the American Colonization Society, but also to secure an income from its rents to meet the Society's local expenses.

*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors did not intend to limit the Executive Committee as to the cost of the building by reference to the \$10,000 then at command, and that any sum, if judiciously expended so as to secure the object before stated, will be well invested.

*Resolved*, That as soon as specifications and plans can be matured, proposals



## Receipts and Expenditures.

shall be invited by correspondence with the friends of the cause from the largest cities, and copies be furnished for this purpose.

J. B. PINNEY, *Chairman*.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1860.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Tracy, it was—

*Resolved*, That the salaries of the officers of the Society be paid monthly.

On motion, it was—

*Resolved*, That the Annual Report of the Society be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Tracy, it was—

*Resolved*, That the minutes of the proceedings of this Board be referred to the said Committee for the same purpose.

The minutes were then read and approved.

The meeting was closed with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Balch.

The Board then adjourned *sine die*.

JOHN MACLEAN, *Chairman*.

WM. COPPINGER, *Secretary*.

*Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,*

*From January 1 to December 31, 1859.*

	Dr.	Cr.
Balances .....	\$31,983 13	\$11,304 32
<i>Receipts from the following sources, viz:</i>		
Office Expenses.....	\$10 28	6,151 29
African Repository.....	561 54	*2 303 74
Ship Mary C. Stevens.....	18,033 33	†26,358 21
Legacies.....	85,403 26	7 65
Recaptives of the Echo.....	32,500 00	†11,095 41
Emigrants & Improv'ts in Liberia.	8,592 96	23,098 07
Donations.....	13,236 62	5 00
Profit and Loss.....	1,965 24	160,303 23
		3,569 62
Contingent Expenses.....		131 89
Expense Account.....		4,586 31
Interior Settlement.....		3,494 26
Colony of Liberia.....		6,797 97
	192,286 36	98,903 74
Balances due by the Society.....	14,610 11	
Balances due to the Society.....	107,923 88	
Cash on hand.....	8 85	107,992 73
	\$206,896 47	206,896 47

\* The sum of \$2,303.74, charged to the African Repository, includes the expense of the Annual Report and other printing for the Society.

† Of the above 26,358.21, charged to Ship Mary C. Stevens, the sum of \$8,690.94 is for advances made, in 1856, for the building of said vessel, by the Maryland State Colonization Society, not before charged to her.

‡ Disbursements for "Recaptives of the Echo" in 4th quarter, 1858, \$8,636.15, making with the above, in 1859, \$19,731.56.



## A P P E N D I X .

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### CHARGE OF MR. JUSTICE WAYNE,

OF THE U. S. SUPREME COURT,

*Delivered on the 14th day of November, 1859, to the Grand Jury of the Sixth Circuit Court of the United States, for the Southern District of Georgia.*

#### PRESENTMENT.

Whereas the Grand Jury of the Sixth Circuit Court of the United States have been much interested in the learned and lucid charge of His Honor, Judge James M. Wayne, circuit judge of said court:

*Resolved*, That the grand jury respectfully ask the publication by the court, of said charge, for general information.

ANTHONY PORTER, *Foreman*.

Farley R. Sweat, Noah B. Knapp, Dr. Wm. M. Charters, Dr. John A. Wrag, Dr. James M. Schley, James Gallaudet, William H. Davis, John R. Wilder, Vardy Woolley, William Neyle Habersham, Wallace Cumming, Joseph Lippman, Jordon P. Brooks, John W. Rabun, Abraham Minis, John C. Ferril, Dr. James S. Sullivan.

SAVANNAH, *November 16, 1859.*

A true extract from the minutes.

CHARLES S. HENRY,

*Clk. 6th Ct. Court, U. S., Southern Dist. Georgia.*

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#### CHARGE.

*Mr. Foreman and Gentlemen*: We have met to perform those duties which are assigned to us by the Constitution of the United States, and the legislation of Congress, for the judicial administration of both.

Such a delegation of trust imposes upon yourselves as Grand Jurors, and upon this Court, conscientious responsibilities and large functions. Let us proceed, gentlemen, to discharge them, in conformity with the confidence with which they have been conferred.

I proceed to state the relations of Grand Jurors to the Courts of the United States as a part of them, and to their business.

The Constitution of the United States "declares that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land and naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger." It shows that the functions of Grand Jurors are commensurate with the entire penal legislation of Congress. Its enactments are for the punishment of offences against the government; offences against persons; such as are against property, those which may be committed on the high seas, or in rivers, harbors, bays, or basins out of the jurisdiction of any particular State; for offences against public justice, such as relate to the coin and the public securities of the United States; for offences in violation of the post office laws, and for all of those penal provisions which have been passed for the security of trade and commerce, in respect to the safety of the vehicles or vessels in which it is carried on, to the commodities which may be transported in them, and to those persons who are employed to do the work of transportation.

This enumeration, without mentioning the particulars of any one of them, discloses the extent and variety of the services which Grand Jurors may have to discharge in the administration of penal law in the courts of the United States. Whatever, gentlemen, we can do to aid your inquiries in any matter which you may have before you, will be cheerfully done by either my Brother Nicoll or myself, and it is your right to call upon us for advice and instruction in all matters of law.

We are not yet informed as to the particular offences which will be submitted to your consideration. The Court will instruct you in the law applicable to them, as they shall be presented by the District Attorney. It may be, however, that the trials which will take place at this term of the court, for transgressions of the slave trade acts, may disclose matter for other prosecutions of the same kind. Certain it is, that some of those persons who were concerned in fitting out the *Wanderer* for a slave trade voyage, and that others engaged in its execution, to the entire consummation of their purpose in this State, have not as yet been brought to the bar of justice. They may yet stand in our presence, with proof enough of their complicity with those who have been indicted, to make it your duty to place them in the same predicament. I would rather that there should be no cause to increase the criminal calendar of the court: but if there are persons not registered in it, who have bought off an exemption from prosecution, and we shall have a strong legal suspicion of it, *and who they are*, it imposes upon you an obligation to aid the Court, by the use of legitimate evidence, to strip them of their imagined security; that they may be placed alongside of their degraded instruments, who were allured by large wages, and with promises of co-partnership in the results of the voyage, to become transgressors of the law.

Besides, gentlemen, a circumstance has recently occurred in this city, which impresses the larger portion of its people, I may say

all, (with few exceptions,) with the belief that the same vessel has been furtively taken from this port, to be engaged again in the same unlawful trade. This incident, with some expectation that you may be called upon to act upon it, and upon bills for violations of the slave trade acts, induces me, for the information of yourselves, and our people at large, to charge you upon the legislation of Congress upon that subject, and to give its history. I shall assert nothing without the documentary annals of our country to sustain what I shall say; with such references to them, as will enable any one, and every one, who hears me to verify, or to disaffirm the conclusions of my investigation, if the latter can be done.

I proceed now to give the legislation of Congress for the prohibition of the slave trade. It shall be chronological and minute, for instruction generally, and as a warning to such persons who at any time may be seduced by a corrupt avarice to engage in that inhuman trade. These enactments are in conformity with the Constitution, and with that clause of it which declares that the "migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." The clause has its place in the enumerated powers of Congress.

The first act was passed on the 22d March, 1794, when General Washington was President. It was intended to prevent any citizen or resident of the United States from equipping vessels within the United States, to carry on trade or traffic in slaves *to any foreign country*. (Brig *Triphenia* vs. *Harrison*. W. C. C., 522.) That is, though slaves might be brought into the United States until the year 1808, in vessels fitted out in our ports for that purpose, they could not be carried by our citizens or residents in the United States in such vessels, *into any foreign country*. The forfeiture of the vessel, which had been fitted out, attached when the original voyage was begun in the United States; notwithstanding the pretended transfer of her in a foreign port, and the commencement of a new voyage from such port. (The *Plattsburg*, *Wheaton*, 133.)

This act is still in force. The forfeiture attaches, though the equipments of the voyage may not have been completed, it being sufficient that any preparations were made for the unlawful purpose. The act, also, imposes a penalty of two thousand dollars upon any person fitting out such a vessel, or aiding or abetting to do so. And as prevention of such a traffic was the object to be attained, the act was applied to foreign vessels in *this particular*, that if one of them in our ports shall be suspected to be intended for the slave trade, her owner, master, or factor, each and all of them, upon the oath of a citizen of the United States, to that intent, may be required to give bonds to the Treasurer of the United States, that none of the natives of Africa, or negroes of any foreign country, should be taken on board of her to be sold as slaves in any foreign port, whatever, within nine months afterward. In addition,



a citizen of the United States is liable to a forfeiture of two hundred dollars for every person he may receive on board of such vessel for the purpose of selling them as slaves. This statute accomplished its purpose for a time. But when it was found that some of our citizens, and foreigners residing in the United States, who had been accustomed to traffic in slaves, misused their privilege to bring slaves into the United States, by engaging their vessels for taking slaves from one foreign country to another, Congress passed the act of 10th May, 1800. It subjected to forfeiture any right or property in a vessel so employed, and the owners to pay a sum of money equal to double the value of their interest in her.

The judicial interpretation of this act is, that a vessel caught in such a trade, though it be before she has taken slaves on board, is liable to forfeiture. That a forfeiture was also incurred *if slaves were carried as freight* from one foreign port to another in the same kingdom; or from a foreign port to another in any other country. The act, too, declares that it shall be unlawful for *any citizen* of the United States or for *any person residing in them*, to serve on board of any vessel of the United States employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign country to another; and that for doing so, they should be indicted, and be subjected to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding two years. That he shall also be liable to the same fine and imprisonment for being voluntarily employed on board a foreign vessel for the same purpose. The judicial interpretation of this act is, that an *actual transportation of slaves* is not necessary to incur its penalties. It is enough that the vessel was bound to the coast of Africa with the intent to take slaves on board, and that the person charged with violating the act, *knew that*, and voluntarily served on board of her. (U. S. vs. Morris, 14 Peters, 464.) It is not necessary to do more than to mention that there are other sections of this act providing for the capture of vessels engaged in such a trade; also, for their forfeiture for the benefit of the captors, and precluding all persons interested in such vessel, her enterprise, or voyage, from all right to claim any slaves on board of her, and *denying to them any damages or retribution* on account of her capture. The act further directs the commander of the ship, making the seizure of such vessel, to take her officers and crew, and any person found on board of her into custody; and convey them to the civil authority of the United States, in some of the judicial districts, for prosecution.

It had been early found that some of those persons most concerned in violating the laws, (just as has been recently attempted,) claimed to be exempt from its penalties, on the ground of being *passengers* on board of the vessel seized. Congress met the artifice by declaring that all persons making such a declaration, should nevertheless be taken into custody for prosecution, and any commander who shall seize such a vessel, with such a person on board of her, and who attempts to exercise his judgment in respect to the validity of such an excuse, breaks the law.

It was early afterwards decided by Judge Bee of South Carolina that *any person* might make a seizure of such vessel for condemnation,

under the act. His ruling was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Josefa Segunda*, 10 Wheaton, 331. The act also gave to the President of the United States the naval forces to be employed in enforcing it. It provides for the punishment of the master of the vessel seized, subjecting him to a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and to imprisonment of not less than two and not more than four years.

The next act of Congress was passed on the 2d March, 1807, when Mr. Jefferson was President. I will hereafter show that it was done upon his official suggestion; and I only do not do so now from unwillingness to divert your minds into another train of thought from the legislation itself. The act of 1807 begins by subjecting any vessel to forfeiture which shall be found in any river, bay, or harbor, or on the high seas within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or which may be hovering on the coast, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, or with the intent to land them in any port or place within the United States.

The act of 1818 prohibits the importation of negroes altogether into the United States from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, without excluding the return to it of such slaves as might leave the United States as servants of their owners, comprehending such as have been employed as seamen on a foreign voyage. (*United States vs. Skiddy*, 11 Peters, 73.) The ship in which they are brought is forfeited. It also forfeits any vessel built or equipped for the purpose of bringing slaves into the United States, or for the purpose of transporting them to any foreign country, and any preparation which clearly manifests an intent to prosecute a slave voyage, constitutes a fitting out under the act.

This offence being by the act a misdemeanor, all concerned in it are principals. (*United States vs. Gooding*, 12 Wheaton, 460.) The penalty under the act for fitting out vessels for the slave trade, and all persons in any way concerned, is a fine not less than one thousand nor more than four thousand dollars, and imprisonment, which may be extended from three to seven years. It also inflicts other and severe penalties upon citizens of the United States, and other persons residing therein, for being concerned in the slave trade, either on shore or at sea, and it provides, as previous acts did, against carrying slaves from one port to another in a foreign country. (*The Merino*, 9 Wheaton, 391.)

It takes from the importer of slaves, and from any other persons claiming them under him, or who may have bought them from his agent, any right, title, or interest whatever in the service or labor of any negro, mulatto, or other person of color, so acquired. The purchasers of such slaves may be punished. Those, also, who may have aided or abetted the importation of such slaves, and all persons are punishable who shall hold, sell, or otherwise dispose of any negro with intent to make him a slave, who shall know that he was introduced into the United States contrary to law.

And in the 8th section of the act it is declared that in all prosecutions under it, the defendant shall be held to prove that the ne-

gro mulatto or person of color, which he shall be charged with having brought into the United States, or with having purchased, or with having held or sold, or otherwise having disposed of, was brought into the United States five years before the commencement of the prosecution, or that he was not brought in contrary to the provisions of the act.

Upon the failure by the person charged to make such proofs he shall be adjudged guilty of the offence with which he may stand charged under the act. By which I understand, that after the prosecuting officer has made out a *prima facie* case, that a negro or mulatto is in possession of the accused, who has been brought into the United States contrary to law, that the burden of proof is cast upon the holder of the negro, to exempt himself from the penalties of the law.

The act of 1819 authorizes the President, in a more particular manner than had been done before, to use the naval force for the prevention of the slave trade, points out the circumstances and the localities in which seizures of vessels may be made, directs the distribution of the proceeds of them after condemnation, requires that negroes found on board of them shall be delivered to the marshal, what that officer's duty then is, and again commands that the officer making the seizure shall take into his custody every person found on board, being of the crew or officers of the vessels seized, and that they are to be turned over to the civil authority for prosecution. A bounty of twenty-five dollars is given for the detection of every negro, &c., &c., brought into the United States contrary to law, which the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay to the informer. The government is also authorized to pay a specific sum to any person who shall lodge information with the district attorney of any State or Territory into which negroes have been introduced, contrary to the provisions of this act.

It is then made that officer's duty to commence a prosecution, by information, to ascertain the fact of the unlawful introduction, and process is issued against the person charged with holding any such negro. If upon the return of the process executed, it shall be ascertained by the verdict of a jury that the negro has been brought into the United States as the informer had alleged, he is entitled to receive *fifty dollars* for each negro delivered to the marshal, or of whom that officer may get the possession. I have been more particular in reciting what should be the proceedings, on account of it not having been pursued, when a number of Africans, supposed to be of the Wanderer cargo, were in possession of an officer, from whom they were taken by the intervention of a State officer's warrant, without there being the slightest authority for doing so. I suggest as the release of the Africans alluded to was a nullity, that proceedings against the persons concerned in it may still be instituted in vindication of the violation of the laws of the United States, and that new proceedings may be brought upon a proper affidavit of any one that another person was or is in possession of any of the negroes brought in by the Wanderer, for carry-

ing out the United States law to its conclusion for the benefit of whoever was or may become the informer.

This brings us to the last act upon the subject, that of the 15th May, 1820. It denounces any citizen of the United States as a pirate, and that he shall suffer death, who shall become one of the crew or ship's company of any foreign [slave] ship; and that any *person whatever* becomes a pirate, and shall suffer death, who shall become one of the crew or ship's company of any vessel, owned in the whole or in part, or which shall be navigated for or in behalf of any citizen of the United States, or who shall land from such vessel on any foreign shore, and shall seize any negro or mulatto not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or who shall decoy or forcibly bring or carry, or who shall receive on board of such ship, any negro or mulatto with intent to make them slaves. The fifth section of the act declares that, if either of the same classes of persons in the same classes of vessels shall forcibly confine, or detain, or abet, or aid to do so, any negro or mulatto on either of such ships, not held to service or labor by the laws of any of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such person a slave—or who shall on the high seas, or anywhere on tide water, transfer over to any other ships of vessels such persons, intending to make them slaves, or shall land or deliver such persons with the same intent, or having already sold them, that such persons shall be adjudged pirates, and on conviction shall suffer death. It was necessary to be minute in the recital of this act, or you could not have had a correct idea of it.

Such, gentlemen, has been the legislation of Congress to prohibit and to punish the introduction of slaves into the United States from abroad by our own citizens or by foreigners.

It will be found in the history which I will give of that legislation, that it is the result of an early and continued disapproval by the people of the United States, both North and South, of the African slave trade. In all of which, from the very beginning of our nationality, the distinguished men of both sections took an active part, none of them more decisively than Southern statesmen, in every act that has been passed, including the last. There has never been any manifestation of popular or sectional discontent against them on account of their opinion concerning the African slave trade, or their legislation to repress it. The acts for that purpose have never been complained of but by those who had subjected themselves to their penalties, or who feared that they might be so, or by a few gentlemen, the sincerity of whose convictions cannot be doubted, but who have not as yet in their speeches or publications commanded much attention from their knowledge of the history of our legislation, or for their expositions of constitutional laws upon the subject. No serious attempt has been made to repeal any one of those acts, and no one in a condition to do so, has been found to propose it with an earnest and zealous effort

to accomplish that. They have been acquiesced in, and had a popular approval from the first act that was passed to the last, inclusive. The judicial infliction of the penalties of those acts, which has been frequently done, has always been considered the legal and just consequence of the constitutional provision which gives to Congress the power to prohibit the importation of slaves into the United States after the year 1807.

The acts of 1818, 1819, and 1820, severe as they may seem to be, particularly the last, had the active and marked support of the most distinguished Representatives in Congress from the State of South Carolina, and that of the ablest Representatives of every other State in the Union. There was but one opinion in the Senate and House of Representatives, that the treaty engagements of the United States with Great Britain, the times and the circumstances of them, called for such acts in favor of humanity. They were necessary to vindicate our national sincerity from almost an imputation of connivance at the violations on our coast of our acts for the suppression of the slave trade.

What those circumstances were will be shown by the narrative I shall now give you. At no time has modern commerce been assailed by more extensive or more brutal piracies and murders, than it was in 1815, and for three years afterward.

The general pacification in Europe in 1814, and that of the United States with Great Britain, threw out of employment numbers of men who had been accustomed to the violences of war, and to the hazards and gains of privateering.

They were unfitted for any quiet social condition, were without duly occurring or expected causes of excitement, and had not those virtues suited to the pursuits of peace. Their vessels had been built, and equipped, and manned for pursuit or flight, and were unfit for the carrying trade of commerce. Many of them were soon employed in a forced trade, and in smuggling on every shore of the Atlantic. The transition to piracy soon followed. I believe, (for I speak from the history of that day and from public documents) there was no nation in Europe, some of whose vessels were not so used, and many of those of the United States were navigated by our citizens and by foreigners for the same purpose. In the latter part of the year 1816, and during the following year, vessels of that class were on the coasts of this continent from Cape Horn to the Gulf of Florida. At first they were pirates without combinations, but afterwards became associated and had places of depot for the sale and division of their spoil. Those places were on the uninhabited Atlantic coast of America, and those localities are now known. At length an adventurer, daring and knowing, conceived the idea and executed it, to make the Island of Fernandina their rendezvous. He seized it, declaring it to be no longer a dependence of Spain, and organized a government there in conjunction with citizens of the United States, who were men of broken fortunes at home.

They claimed for themselves the privileges of nationality, invited an accession of numbers from every part of the world, re-



recruited them as soldiers, and employed them on board of cruisers which had commissions of their own, with simulated documentary papers of the United States and of the nations of Europe. Spain could not dislodge them. Our negotiations were then going on for the purchase of Florida. In a short time the little Island, (now probably to become a city of note,) was filled with the stolen products of commerce. The plan was to smuggle them into the adjoining districts of the United States, overland by the way of Florida, and from points on the St. Mary's river into the interior. Our citizens from the north and south did not resist the temptation; men from the utmost east of the United States, and the nearer south to the locality were there for unlawful purposes just as they had been a few years before, during the war of the United States and England, to smuggle our cotton into Fernandina on English account, and in return, to smuggle into the United States the fabrics of her manufactures. In a short time this assumed government opened the Island as a depot for slaves from Africa. Two cargoes of them arrived there in the year 1818, in such a condition of misery from long confinement, starvation and scourging, that the representation of it caused all over the United States a deep and indignant sympathy. Those, and there were but a few of them, who survived, were bought by a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania, and by a resident merchant of Savannah, and were successfully introduced into the United States.

A third cargo arrived under like circumstances and with the same results. It was known that others would follow, and with a proper regard for humanity, and the political interest of the nation, Mr. Monroe, then President, determined to take possession of the Island. It was done by a military force. The late General Bankhead commanded the expedition. Aury's government and force, after a show of resistance, surrendered. Himself and his officers fled, and thus an end was put to their combination for smuggling and piracy. It must not be supposed, however, that a gush of sympathy from such a cause led to the enactment of the act of 1820. It had a deeper and a wider foundation, as you will presently see, in the long standing conviction of the American people, that the African slave trade was wrong in itself.

#### HISTORY OF THE LEGISLATION.

Your attention will now be called to the history of the legislation of Congress to prohibit the African slave trade, with especial reference to the religious, moral and political considerations on which it rests, and to the constitutionality of the act of 1820, making that trade *piracy*, punishable with death.

The colonial history of the States, in my judicial circuit, North and South Carolina and Georgia, exhibits the existence of a profound impression among the people, that the slave trade was not a legitimate commerce, but that it involved the perpetration of enormous crimes. The same feeling, belief, and opinion had been frequently expressed in Virginia, and Maryland manifested the

same sentiments and a disposition to abolish it; all of them suggested measures for its discouragement.

This sentiment, common indeed to all the colonists, was expressed by the first Constitutional Congress of 1774, in its adoption, unanimously, by all the colonies, of the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, and with more emphasis by the Congress of 1776. That Congress resolved that the importation of African slaves should be abandoned, and for a time there was no State in which the trade was tolerated.

The provisions of the Federal Constitution were settled with much deliberation and care. They were reported by a committee formed by a member from each State, and their report, with amendments, was adopted as the complete and final adjustment of our constitutional arrangement of that subject.

This adjustment contemplated that either of the States "then existing," should retain the power to admit slaves until the year eighteen hundred and eight, and that after the year eighteen hundred and seven, Congress should have plenary authority to regulate or prohibit it. Mr. Madison expressed the sense of the Federal Convention when he said, in the Virginia Convention, "it appeared to him that the General Government would not intermeddle with that property for twenty years, but to lay a tax on every slave imported, not exceeding ten dollars, and that, after the expiration of that period, they might prohibit the traffic altogether."

But the reservation of the power to "the United States" to admit Africans to be held as slaves, was opposed with much earnestness in the Federal Convention that passed it and was regarded as a serious objection in many of the conventions assembled in the different States to ratify the Constitution.

The limitation of the power of the United States, to legislate upon the subject, did not extend to the trade with foreign nations, or to the territories.

In the year 1794 and 1800, during the administration of General Washington and Mr. Adams, American ships and American seamen were prohibited from engaging in or carrying on the slave trade among foreign nations, under heavy penalties. In 1798 and 1804 the trade was prohibited in the Mississippi and Louisiana territories, comprising then all the slaveholding territories of the United States.

In the year 1806 President Jefferson congratulated Congress upon the approach of that period when its power became plenary, and invited it to pass suitable laws for the final suppression of the trade. The prohibitory sections of the act of 1807 were adopted, with unusual harmony of sentiment by Congress, and was the result of Mr. Jefferson's recommendations. It was said in the debate that took place upon that bill that the sentiment was general for the abolition of the slave trade, and that the only enquiry was, how it could be most effectually done.

In the treaty of peace concluded at Ghent between the United States and Great Britain, the trade was pronounced to be "irreconcilable with humanity and justice," and the contracting parties engaged to use their best endeavors for its abolition.

In 1818, 1819 and 1820, the laws of the United States upon the subject were revised, and additional severity given to the enactments.

Thus, it is seen, that during the administration of the first five Presidents, all of whom were concerned in settling the foundations of the Government, a series of laws, resting upon a common principle, and having a common end, have been adopted by the united and concurring views of the States and the people, for the suppression of the African slave trade.

The power of Congress to suppress the slave trade, by passing all laws necessary and proper for that purpose, is not questioned by any one at all conversant with the Constitution and constitutional history of the United States.\*

As a matter of commerce, the power of Congress to regulate the foreign slave trade is plenary and conclusive. As it affects navigation and the police of the ocean and seas, the power given to define and punish piracies and felonies on the high seas is without limitation. And in so far as it affects intercourse with the inhabitants of another continent, and the relations which shall exist between our citizens and those inhabitants, the power of Congress to determine upon that intercourse, and to control the citizens of the United States in regard to it, is absolute and unconditional.

The acts of Congress relating to the slave trade, divide the offenders into three classes, and apportion various degrees of punishment among them. I shall speak of but one of them. The class treated as the most criminal, and upon whom the denunciation of punishment falls most severely, comprises the crew or ship's company of the vessel, who are immediately employed in carrying on the trade.

The act of Congress of May, 1820, describes this class as the crew or ship's company of any American vessel, or the citizens of the United States employed in any foreign vessel, engaged in the slave trade. The Supreme Court of the United States have said in reference to a similar enactment: "As to our own citizens, there is no reason why they should be exempted from the operation of the law of the country, even though in foreign service. Their subjection to those laws follows them everywhere."

The crimes described in this act have been already mentioned in almost the language of it, but in this connection the repetition, with greater brevity, will be allowable.

Those crimes may be committed by landing from any such vessel, and on any foreign shore seizing a negro or mulatto, not a slave under any State or territorial law of the United States, with intent to make of him a slave; or by forcibly or fraudulently decoying or abducting such a person to such ship or vessel, or forcibly confining or detaining him on board with such an intent; or selling or attempting to sell him as a slave on the high seas; or landing him from the vessel with such intent. The person transgressing, in either of the particulars mentioned, is to be adjudged a pirate, and the penalty is death.

The crime of kidnapping the inhabitant of another country by a citizen of the United States, or by the employment of an American vessel, is as plainly within the power of Congress to define and punish and to denominate it piracy, as it would be for Congress to punish for piracy the crew of any vessel who might land upon the shore of the United States with intent to kidnap or who should kidnap the citizens of the United States, or the negro slaves on plantations situated on the coast of the United States. In either case it belongs to Congress to affix the punishment for the offence, upon its own convictions of its enormity and its mischievous tendency. The denomination applied to the offender is of no importance to the character of the act, though, without designation otherwise, it may be as to the punishment of the offence.

But there can be no difficulty in vindicating the classification of the offence described in the act as *piracy*.

The acts of 1794, 1800, 1807, and 1818, abolished the slave trade, and prohibited the employment of American seamen and vessels, either in the foreign slave trade or in the importation of slaves to the United States. The American citizen was not allowed to acquire any title to the subject of such traffic, from any person concerned in it. *The rights of the inhabitants of Africa to their liberty were required to be inviolable by the inhabitants of the United States.* To this limited extent they were placed upon the same conditions as the inhabitants of any other country.

From a remote antiquity, the seizure and abduction of men and women, with the intent to dispose of them as slaves, by the crew or ship's company, of vessels roaming at large for the purpose of plunder and traffic, have been deemed and always called acts of *piracy*. It was a capital offence by the Jewish law, and to steal a human being, man, woman or child, or to seize and forcibly carry away any person whatever from his own country into another, has always been considered to be *piracy*, and is now so considered by all nations enjoying Jewish and Christian instruction, punishable with death.

The exclusion of the inhabitants of Africa from such protection, so far as the nations of Europe are concerned, commenced in the early part of the 14th century; the Portuguese having then begun the traffic in slaves from the western shores of that continent. But they placed their rights to do so, and their excuse for it, upon the Roman law of "*Jure gentium, servi nostri sunt, qui ab hostibus capiuntur*."

Nor was it ever recognized in Europe to be an allowable trade upon any other principle, until the Emperor Charles V. authorized in 1517 the introduction of Africans into the Island of St. Domingo, from the establishments of the Portuguese on the coast of Guinea, to work the mines in that Island. It was subsequently sanctioned by the nations of Europe for the same purpose and for agricultural labor, and for the last it was introduced by all of them into their respective colonial possessions in America. But now the sanction of all of them for such a trade having been withdrawn,

and all of them having declared it to be piracy, the natural rights of the inhabitants of Africa are secured against the violation of them by their respective citizens and subjects, as to the transportation of them to any port of the world, with intent to make them slaves.

A classical writer upon the manners of the ancient Greeks informs us: "The supply by war of slaves there, seldom equalled the demand; in consequence a race of *kidnappers* sprung up, partly merchants and partly *pirates*, who roamed about the shores of the Mediterranean," as such miscreants do now about the slave coasts, picking up solitary and unprotected individuals. Greek and Roman authorities tell us that when the Cilician pirates had the possession of the Mediterranean, as many as ten thousand slaves were said to have been imported and sold in one day.

Lord Stowell describes a pirate "as one who renounces every country, and ravages every country on its coasts, and vessels indiscriminately." And it is quite clear, politically and judicially, that a *pirate* is one who, without a commission from any public and recognized authority, shall ravage the coasts, or vessels of any country indiscriminately. Mr. Jefferson, in his draft of the Declaration of Independence, denounces the African slave trade "as a piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel nations."

The motives and considerations which induced Congress, with scarcely a division, to enact the law of May, 1820, are fully explained in the report of the committee of the House of Representatives, which recommended the passage of the bill. "Congress," says the committee, "have heretofore marked, with decided reprobation, the authors and abettors of this iniquitous commerce in every form which it assumes, from the inception of its unrighteous purposes in America, through all the subsequent steps of its progress to its final consummation—the outward voyage, the cruel seizure and forcible abduction of the unfortunate African from his native home, and the fraudulent transfer and sale of the person so acquired. It may, however, be questioned, if a proper discrimination of their relative guilt has entered into the measure of punishment annexed to their criminal acts. Your committee cannot perceive wherein the offence of kidnapping an unoffending inhabitant of a foreign country, in chaining him down for a series of days, weeks, and months, amidst the dying and the dead, to the pestilential hold of a slave ship, of consigning him, if he chance to live out the voyage, to perpetual slavery in a remote and unknown land, differs in malignity from piracy, and why a milder punishment should follow the one than the other crime? Are there not united in this offence all that is most iniquitous in theft, most daring in robbery, and cruel in murder. If the internal wars of Africa, and their desolating effect, may be imputed to the slave trade, and that the greater part of them must cannot now be questioned, his crime, considered in its remote as well as its proximate consequences, is the very darkest in the whole catalogue of human iniquities, and its authors should be regarded as *hostes humani generis*."



In the year 1823, the House of Representatives of Congress adopted a resolution to request the President to prosecute, from time to time, negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and of America, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy under the laws of nations, by the consent of the civilized world. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 139 yeas to 9 nays, and among those who voted for it were Mr. Buchanan, now our President, Mr. McLean, of Delaware, Mr. Poinsett, Mr. McDuffie, and General Hamilton, of South Carolina; Mr. Reid, of Georgia; Mr. Sergeant, of Pennsylvania; Stephenson, of Virginia, and Williams, of North Carolina. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, the mover of the resolution, in the course of his speech in support of the motion, said that technical objections had been urged, and sneers have been indulged against the legal accuracy of the application of the term piracy to the offence. Such criticism has no sound reason to sustain it. The law of nations is in part natural—in part conventional. Its only sanction is to be found in the physical force—its legal authority in the express or local consent of nations. The consent of nations may make piracy of any offence on the high seas. In seeking a denomination for a new crime, it is not necessary to invent a new term. The object of classing the prohibited act under an old title, is to provide for the former a definite and complete remedy. Piracy under the law of nations is alike understood and punished by all nations. And is there no analogy between the African slave trade and the offence of piracy, which would warrant the proposed classification of the former crime under the latter title? It may, sometimes, be difficult, amidst conflicting authorities, to say what is not piracy, but it cannot be so to determine what is. It is robbery on the high seas, without a lawful commission from any recognised authority, to take from a vessel, without color of law, a single package of goods. And is it not robbery to seize, not the property of the man, but the man himself, to chain him down, with hundreds of his fellows, in the pestilential hold of a slave ship, in order, if he chances to survive the voyage, to sell him to a foreign master? By a former law, almost coeval with our Constitution, we made murder on the high seas piracy. The seizure of an African by the landing of the crew of a vessel with intent to make him a slave on a foreign land, is *kidnaping* and its consummation on the high seas is within the power of Congress to “define and punish piracies.” Search the etymology of the term piracy, and its application to crimes, and nothing restricts it to injuries to property, or to offences which have their inception and termination on the high seas. The act of violation may begin on the shore, and be continued on the ocean, for the consummation of its intention elsewhere, and Congress may define it to be either a piracy or a felony, according to its sense of the enormity of the purpose or intention of the persons concerned in it. Congress has defined it to be piracy, and has declared that it shall be punished with death.

The act of the 15th May, 1820, on this subject, was a consummation of its legislation for the complete abolition of the slave trade. It was not passed under any momentary excitement or impulse, but it was the deliberate and considered act of the Federal government to carry out a policy that had been disclosed in the first days of our existence as a free and independent people, and which in every stage of its history had been sanctioned by the moral sense of the people. Under the resolution before mentioned, which was so triumphantly passed in the House of Representatives, the executive government entered upon negotiations with Great Britain, and in the year 1824, its parliament followed the lead of this country in designating the crime of abducting Africans from their shores to make them slaves as *piracy*. All the nations of Europe, as well as of America, have followed in the same legislation, and the object of the resolution of 1823 seems to be near its accomplishment.

Upon three occasions since 1824, the subject has been under the consideration of Congress, and at each time has a determination been fully expressed to maintain the principles that have been incorporated into the legislation of the country.

No part of it has been more explicit in that declaration than the States in my judicial circuit. Georgia declared, in her constitution of 1798, that there should be no future importation of slaves into this State, from Africa or any foreign place, after the first day of October ensuing. South Carolina prohibited negroes and slaves of any color from being brought into the State as early as the 4th November, 1788. That State's act of the 21st December, 1792, is to the same purpose, with this addition, that there should be no importation of slaves, or negroes, mulattos, or Indians, Moors, or mestizoes, *bound to service for a term of years*. And her repeated legislation from that time to the year 1803, extended and renewed the prohibition of the importation of slaves into that State. And it is a little amusing, too, that the origin of the present African apprentice system was begun in attempts to violate her laws forbidding the importation of slaves and negroes, under the pretence that they were only bound to service for a term of years. But the artifice was discovered, and the State has the credit of having accommodated her legislation to the fraud, so as to prevent and punish it. When the Constitution was under discussion, the convention of North Carolina had no legislation directly to prohibit the importation of slaves. It only imposed duties upon the introduction of them into that State; but since her ratification of the constitution, no State in the Union has more faithfully kept the act of Congress prohibiting the importation of slaves, unless it be the State of South Carolina, for, from what I have judicially witnessed in that State, I can say, notwithstanding there are a few there who are active advocates for the renewal of the slave trade, that the people of the State are not at all likely to recede from their long standing policy in that regard.

In 1826, in the discussion of the Panama Mission, Colonel Hayne, a member of the Senate from the State of South Carolina,

said: "The United States were the first to set their faces against the slave trade, and the first to suppress it among her citizens. We are entitled to the honor of having effectually accomplished this great object; not more by the force of our laws than by the omnipotent power of public opinion. In all measures of this character, every portion of our fellow-citizens have cordially co-operated, and even in those States where slavery exists, the people have gone heart and hand with the government in every measure calculated to cut up this nefarious trade by the roots. In the State which I have the honor to represent, any man concerned, directly or indirectly, in this traffic, would be indignantly driven out of society."

Mr. Johnson, a member of the Senate from Louisiana, said: "A general accordance in principle and sentiment prevails throughout the civilized world in regard to the duty and obligation of nations to exterminate the slave trade. It is the prevailing feeling of the age. This inhuman traffic which fills the world with misery, ought to be effectually suppressed. It belongs to Christian nations to put an end to this infamous practice, with all the crimes and horrors that follow its commission."

Judge Berrien, of Georgia, said: "For myself, I abhor the slave trade. It is abhorred by my constituents. Even at the time when it was tolerated by our laws, it was not in the southern portion of this Union that its practical advocates were found."

At a later period in the history of the country, 1843, the United States was called upon to consider the measures for the execution of the Treaty of Ghent with Great Britain, relative to the suppression of the slave trade. These measures will be found in the treaty negotiated at Washington with that power, frequently called the Webster Ashburton Treaty. That treaty was ratified, and is now a part of the law of the land. The eighth article requires "both countries to prepare, equip, and maintain in service on the coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron to enforce separately and respectively, the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries for the suppression of the slave trade. The 9th article recites, that, notwithstanding all efforts which may be made on the coast of Africa, for suppressing the slave trade, the facilities for carrying on that trade and avoiding the vigilance of cruisers, by the fraudulent use of flags and other means, are so great, and the temptation so strong for pursuing it, while a market can be found for slaves, that the desired result may be long delayed unless all markets be shut against the purchase of African negroes. The parties to this treaty agree that they will unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist; and they will urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and forever.

This treaty was ratified by the Senate by a vote of thirty-nine ayes to nine nays, three of those who voted in the negative representing slaveholding States. One of those was Colonel Benton,

and one of the grounds of his objection to the treaty was the clause just recited, but he declared the trade itself diabolical and infamous.

The Constitution of the United States, mainly made by slave-holding States, authorized Congress to put an end to the importation of slaves by a given day. Anticipating the limited day by legislation, Congress had the law ready to take effect on the day permitted. On the first day of January, 1808, Mr. Jefferson being President, the importation of slaves became unlawful and criminal. A subsequent act, following up the idea of Mr. Jefferson, in his first draught of the Declaration of Independence, denominated the crime as *piratical*, and delivered up its pursuers to the Sword of Justice, as the enemies of the human race. Vessels of war cruising on the coast of Africa, under our act of 1819, have been directed to search our own vessels, to arrest the violators of the law, to bring in the ships for condemnation and the men for punishment. At this time the government is not unmindful of this treaty obligation, for our next squadron for the coast of Africa will consist, I believe, of four steamers and as many sloops-of-war, and four steamships will probably cruise off Cuba, to intercept slavers that may escape the ships on the African coast. Mr. Calhoun voted for the ratification of the treaty, and expressed his clear conviction "that the policy of closing the markets of the world was both right and expedient in every point of view, that we were deeply committed against the traffic, both by legislation and treaty. The influence and the efforts of the civilized world were directed against it, and that too under our lead at the commencement."

Still later, in 1855, the House of Representatives, by a vote nearly unanimous, decided that it was not expedient to repeal the laws for the suppression of the slave trade.

The leading points in the legislative history of the laws under discussion have been referred to, to show upon what solid foundation of authority and consent on the part of the executive and legislative departments of the government, the laws for the suppression of the slave trade rest. No doubt has been entertained by the long succession of jurists and statesmen who have been concerned in their discussion and enactment, of the constitutional power of Congress to pass them. There is no question of public morality which has been more clearly and solemnly maintained than that on which this legislation reposes. It would be a retrograde movement of more than a century to consent to abate one line of the condemnation of this trade, or to relax any effort for its extirpation. Many of the clauses of these laws have come before the judiciary department of the United States for interpretation; property has been sentenced to confiscation, and men have been tried and some condemned for the violation of them. Not a question has been decided in the Circuit or in the Supreme Court which in any manner impugns their validity as constitutional enactments.

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Charge to Mr. Justice Wayne—Slave Trade.

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HAVING thus given you, gentlemen, the acts, and their legislative history, all of which have hitherto had the support and concurrence of the people of the United States, and by no part of the people more so than by the people of the slaveholding States; should cases of the kind be submitted to you by the District Attorney you will no doubt show yourselves true and faithful to the constitution and laws of our country.

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## INFORMATION

FOR

PEOPLE OF COLOR GOING TO LIBERIA.

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THE Republic of Liberia is situated on the Western Coast of Africa between the fourth and eighth degrees of north latitude, and extends along five hundred and twenty miles of the coast, from the English Colony of Sierra Leone to the mouth of the San Pedro River. The soil is good and produces a great variety of tropical productions, coffee, cotton, and the sugar cane, being among the most valuable. Indian corn, sweet potatoes, plantains, bananas, and most tropical fruits and vegetables thrive well.

The Society's ship, *Mary Caroline Stevens*, constructed with the best accommodations for emigrants, leaves Baltimore on the 1st of May and 1st of November annually. She touches at Cape Mount, Monrovia, Bassa, Simon and Cape Palmas, to land emigrants, freight, and passengers. Her passage is usually from thirty to forty days.

Emigrants should be well supplied with clothing similar to what is required in this country. There is no winter in Liberia, but during the rainy season health is greatly promoted by wearing flannel



or other warm clothing. The emigrant should have a mattress and a good supply of sheets and blankets. Farmers and mechanics should be well supplied with tools, and every family should take table furniture and kitchen utensils. Large and unwieldy furniture should not be taken, but articles most necessary and of small compass they should have. A keg of nails and some domestic goods are important to every family. They have to build a house, and may find it necessary to employ some person or persons to assist them.

Each adult emigrant receives five acres of land, and more in proportion to the number of his family. This will be enough until he becomes able to purchase more. All parents are required to educate their children at the common schools.

The Colonization Society offers passage to Liberia in their ship and support for six months after arrival to such as have means to defray their expenses, for \$70, and for children half price, but to such as are unable to pay, gives a free passage and subsequent support for six months, medical attendance, and a comfortable habitation. The industrious can, during these six months, provide themselves a house, plant a piece of ground, and have things in readiness to obtain a comfortable living.

People live in Liberia as everywhere else, by industry and economy. There is room and sufficient inducements for many employments, which command good wages. No class is doing better than farmers. Of *domesticated* animals in Liberia are cattle, swine, sheep, goats, ducks, common fowls, turkeys, pigeons, &c. *Wild* deer of different kinds in abundance, with many smaller animals and various wild fowls. A great variety of excellent fish abound in the waters.

Of *vegetables*, sweet potatoes, arrow root, turnips, carrots, beets, cabbages, beans, cymblains, peas, cucumbers, yams, cassavas, and a great many other vegetables unknown here, while oranges, citrons, lemons, plantains, bananas, guavas, tamarinds, and tropical *fruits* generally, flourish.

Application for passage in the Society's ship may be addressed to Rev. William McLain, Financial Secretary of the Society, Washington, or for freight and passage to Dr. James Hall, Agent for the Ship, Colonization Office, Baltimore.

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#### OMISSIONS.

Page 36, insert above 8th line from bottom, the word "DELEGATES;" and at bottom of same page, add "New Jersey—L. A. SMITH, M. D."

TABLE OF EMIGRANTS—Continued from 42d Annual Report, page 56.

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	M.	R.	I.	N. Y.	N. J.	Penn.	Del.	Md.	D. C.	Va.	N. C.	S. C.	Geo.	Ala.	Miss.	La.	Tenn.	Ky.	Ohio	Ind.	Mo.	Ill.	Calif.	Tex.	Total.
122	Renée, .....	April, .....	1859	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42
123	Mary C. Stevens, .....	May, .....	1859	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	1	.....	35	.....	10	24	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
124	Bark Mendel, .....	May, .....	1859	.....	.....	.....	.....	44	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41
125	Mary C. Stevens, .....	Nov., .....	1859	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	1	.....	19	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	1	21	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	63

*Recapitulation.*

Mass., ....., 54 New Jersey, ..35 D. C., ....., 104 Georgia, ..1061 Tennessee, ..718 Illinois, ....., 98 Texas, ....., 16 California, ....1  
 R. Island, ....., 36 Penn., ....., 218 Virginia, ..3518 Alabama, ..105 Kentucky, ..658 Missouri, ....., 83 Cherokee N., ..7  
 Conn., ....., 46 Delaware, ....., 5 N. Carolina, 1341 Mississippi, 536 Ohio, ....., 55 Michigan, ....1 Cherokee N., 1 Total, ....10,257  
 New York, ..257 Maryland, ..554 S. Carolina, 435 Louisiana, ..309 Indiana, ....., 81 Iowa, ....., 3  
 Number liberated Africans sent by U. S. Government, 1,241.

NOTE.—The above does not include the number (about 1,000) that have been sent by the Maryland State Colonization Society to the  
 "Colony of Maryland in Liberia."



